

The 25
AMERICAN
HISTORICAL
REVIEW

A Quarterly

43388
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X 259-276

Vol. LIV, No. 2

January, 1949

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 8 North Sixth Street, Richmond, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The price of subscription is \$5.00 a year; single numbers are sold for \$1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for \$8.00.

Correspondence in regard to contributions to THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW should be sent to the Managing Editor, Guy Stanton Ford, Library of Congress Annex, Study Room 274, Washington 25, D. C. Books for review should be sent to the same address.

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Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-office at Richmond, Va.,
under the act of March 3, 1879.

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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. LIV, No. 2

January, 1949

A Christian's ? The Christian Understanding of History

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE*

DO patterns exist in history? All historians make selections from the multitude of happenings which constitute the quarry in which they work. Do they do so arbitrarily or in accord with what is inherent in the events? If there are patterns, can they be discerned? Is history governed by laws? If so, what are they? Does history have meaning, or is it simply sound and fury, signifying nothing? Does it have an end toward which it is moving, or is it movement without direction? These are questions which continue to trouble members of our craft. In various lands, cultures, and ages they have been repeatedly raised and many answers have been given. Whether in the ancient civilizations of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, in Hebrew Palestine, in China, in India, in Greece, in Rome, in the Middle Ages of Europe, or in the modern Occident, explicitly or by implication they have been posed and pondered. ?
!

*Presidential address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington on December 29, 1948. The author is professor of missions and Oriental history in Yale University.

We need no full catalogue to recall how various have been the purposes which have governed selection from the fragmentary records of the past, how numerous have been the patterns which observers of man's course on this planet have seen as giving coherence to the many incidents which are the crude stuff with which historians deal, how diverse have been the laws which have been said to mold the course of events, and the meaning—or the absence of meaning—which has been thought to characterize the stream of human life. Many scribes, both ancient and modern, have centered their stories upon men and women who have loomed large in the collective life of the group—rulers, statesmen, artists, authors, scholars, religious leaders. Some of this, as in early China, has been from a mixture of reverence for ancestors and the desire of insuring prestige to a particular family. Some has been at the instance of those in the public eye who have wished to perpetuate the memory of their greatness—from some of the most ancient inscriptions and chronicles to the archives amassed and preserved by recent Presidents of the United States and the spate of autobiographies which has been mounting since the invention of the printing press. Many arrangements of events have had as their principle of selection admiration and affection for a friend, a teacher, or a saint, or concern for the perpetuation and spread of a religious or political faith—as in the case of Confucius, the Buddha, Jesus, and Lenin. Some historians have centered their narratives upon a war or series of wars—the Peloponnesian struggle, the Gallic Wars, the American Civil War, and World Wars I and II. Many have concentrated on the state and politics. Some, especially in recent times, have viewed economic factors as determinative. Others have attempted to discern a science of society. Influenced by the temper which has characterized much of the Occidental mind for the past few generations, historians have debated whether history is a science. Whatever their answer, in general they have attempted to apply scientific methods to their work. Modern historians usually believe in causation—that events and movements are in large part or entirely determined by preceding events and movements. Yet there are those who declare a time sequence to be all that can be demonstrated. For at least twenty-five hundred years there have been those who have insisted that no meanings or patterns are to be observed in history. Often, as in the case of Yang Chu, this has been in protest against those who believed such to exist. Those who have viewed this world, including human life, as illusion, as has been so widely the case in India, naturally have had little or no regard for history. Many observers across the centuries have believed that history is cyclical, repeating itself. This has been true of the Greeks, of many Buddhists, and of some of the most widely read of modern Occidental authors. Others

have held that progress is discernible, whether by steady movement, by pulsations, or by the dialectical process. Some are passionately convinced that progress culminates in an ideal society in which all man's ills will have been resolved. Others, while believing in progress, do not envision mankind as ever escaping from struggle. These are merely a few of the many attitudes which men have taken as they have sought to record or to understand the past. Some contradict one another. Others can be embraced in a larger synthesis.

Faced with this multiplicity of convictions, it is not surprising that the experienced historian tends to be wary of committing himself to any of them. Yet history cannot be written without some basis of selection, whether artificial and purely subjective or inherent in man's story. A survey of the presidential addresses made before this Association reveals the fact that no one single topic has so attracted those who have been chosen to head this honorable body as have the possible patterns and meanings of history. A few of the addresses have been critical of particular interpretations or even of all interpretations of history. More have presented interpretations—although usually with such modesty and cautious tentativeness as befits those who submit themselves to the judgment of their peers. Frequently the patterns have been assumed or implied.

The historian, then, is faced with a dilemma. On the one hand he is painfully aware of the many interpretations and philosophies of history which have been put forward and is therefore hesitant to accept wholeheartedly any one of them. On the other hand he is confronted with the necessity of acting on some principle of selection, even though it be arbitrary, and is haunted by the persistent hope that a framework and meaning can be found which possess objective reality.

This hope is peculiarly insistent in our day. We appear to be living in a time of major revolution. As historians we are familiar with many earlier periods of rapid change. Indeed, if there is one feature which we are agreed upon as characterizing history it is flux. It seems probable that no culture—if we can assent to the existence of such an entity—and no institution remains permanently unaltered. Yet so far as we are aware, never before has all mankind been so drastically on the march. Never at any one time have so many cultures been in what appears to be disintegration. In no other era have all men been faced with such colossal possibilities of what they deem good and ill. Never before has the race as a whole been so assailed by those who urge upon it dogmatically one or another interpretation of the historical process to explain and to guide in humanity's painful transition.

May I make bold under these circumstances to invite your consideration to one of the oldest interpretations of history, the one which bears the name Christian? I do so realizing that many now regard it as quite outmoded, as associated with a stage of thinking which mankind is discarding, and as being held only by those who are victims of what is indulgently denominated social lag. I do so as one who accepts the Christian understanding of history and is more and more attracted by what he believes to be the accuracy of its insight. But it is not as an advocate, as one in the long succession of those who would seek to justify the ways of God to men, that I would once more draw your attention to it. I would, rather, raise with you the question of whether the Christian understanding of history may not offer the clue to the mystery which fascinates so many of our best minds.

May I first outline what the Christian understanding of history is? Then may I go on to suggest the degree to which it eludes testing by the methods employed by historians of our day? May I next note the ways in which it can be approached by these methods and indicate possible conclusions from these tests? The subject is rendered pertinent partly by reason of the claims which continue to be made for the Christian understanding of history, partly because, through the geographic expansion of Christianity, the Christian view is held by individuals and groups in more and more peoples and is, indeed, more widely spread than any other, in part from the challenges, some old and some new, to which the view is submitted, and because recent experience may shed fresh light on a familiar question.

What is the Christian understanding of history? At first sight there may seem to be no single view held by all Christians and given the Christian name, but rather a number of views, related but reciprocally contradictory and having little in common. Some differences are to be found near the very beginning of Christianity and are imbedded in the earliest documents of the faith, those assembled in the New Testament. Most of the others arise from varying interpretations of these documents.

The chief differences are quickly summarized. Jesus had much to say of what he called the Kingdom of Heaven or the Kingdom of God. Presumably he meant by this the doing of God's will, for one of the central petitions of the prayer which all Christians agree to have been taught by him, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven," in the fashion of Hebrew poetry makes the second part repeat in different words the idea in the first part. But Christians disagree as to how and when that petition is to be answered. Is the Kingdom of God to come by slow stages and by the co-operation of men until God's will is perfectly accomplished—within history?

This view was widely cherished in Protestant circles late in the nineteenth century and in some quarters survives today. It is believed to have support in the words of Jesus. This, obviously, is akin to evolution and has been congenial to many who have accepted the evolutionary hypothesis. The opposite view has been held that the world is becoming no better, and, indeed, may even be deteriorating, and that God by His own unaided act will bring history to a sudden dramatic end and will then accomplish His perfect will. Eminent scholars have contended that Jesus himself expected this consummation and very soon. From time to time through the centuries there have been those who have believed the end of history to be imminent. Indeed, we have them with us today. Some Christians identify the Kingdom of God with the Church. Others would not so identify it. Some have held that the human will is so hopelessly corrupted by sin that every effort by man to better his condition is foredoomed and that we must quietly wait for God to accomplish His purposes. Others, with more confidence in human ability, make God dependent on man's efforts in bringing in the Kingdom.

Striking and important though these differences are, they occur within a framework to which most informed Christians give general assent. They state their faith in a wide variety of ways, but back of the many formulations lies a large measure of agreement. Christians believe that God is the creator of the universe and rules throughout all its vast reaches, whether, to man, the unimaginable distances and uncounted suns or the inconceivably minute world of the atom, whether in what men call matter or in what they call spirit. This means that man lives and history takes places in a universe, that all of reality is one and under the control of God, and that the human drama is part and parcel of the far larger unity of God's creation. Ultimately and in His own way, so the Christian view maintains, God is sovereign in the affairs of men. Physically frail though he is, man, the Christian declares, was created in the likeness of God and with the possibility of fellowship with God. For this reason, as the Christian sees it, mankind is one; history embraces all mankind and is universal. In creating man in His image, God gave to man a certain measure of His own free will. Man's freedom is limited by various factors, among them heredity and physical and social environment, but his freedom is still real. Human history is in large part tragedy, and the tragedy consists in man's abuse of his freedom. Man is prone to ignore the fact that he is a creature. In one fashion or another he arrogates to himself full autonomy and seeks to do not God's will but his own will. He places other loyalties above his loyalty to God and gives to them the allegiance due to God. Thus one's own fancied security and pleasure, the family, a set of

ideas, the state or some other organization, even a church, may be given priority. God, who is always working in the universe and in history, meets this perversion of man's will, so the Christian goes on to say, in two ways, by judgment and by mercy. Through what are sometimes described as His inexorable laws written into the structure of the universe and so in man's own constitution and environment, God judges man and whatever man sets up in place of God. Hence comes most of man's misery and frustration. But God wishes man to repent, and as often as men truly repent, whether individually or in groups, He forgives them and gives them fresh opportunity to grow toward the purpose which He has for them. Ultimately God will triumph. History moves toward a culmination. Whether within or beyond time God's will is to be accomplished and His full sovereignty will be seen to have prevailed.

Thus far the Christian understanding of the universe and of history resembles several non-Christian views. What is here outlined is largely true of Judaism, to a certain extent of Islam, and has partial parallels in theistic or near-theistic systems in China, ancient Persia, and elsewhere.

The distinctively Christian understanding of history centers upon historical occurrences. It has at its heart not a set of ideas but a person. By a widespread convention historians reckon history as B.C. and A.D. They are aware of many other methods of recording dates and know that this particular chronology has acquired extensive currency because of the growing dominance during the past few centuries of a civilization in which Christian influences have been potent. To the Christian, however, this reckoning of time is much more than a convention. It is inherent in history. In Jesus of Nazareth, so the Christian holds, God once for all disclosed Himself and acted decisively. The vast majority of Christians believe that Jesus was God incarnate. Historians are well aware of the long debates and the ecclesiastical struggles, some of them in stark contradiction to the love which is the supreme Christian virtue, over the relation of the divine and human in Jesus. That so many of the debates should have been an occasion for this temper is part of a larger problem to which we must later recur and which had its most dramatic and, so Christians believe, its decisive expression in the crucifixion of Jesus. In spite of and, perhaps, in part because of their acrimony, the controversies over the relation of the human and divine in Jesus are evidence of the struggle of the human mind and spirit to comprehend what Christians hold to have been a quite unique event. The large majority of Christians agree with the conviction expressed in one of the early Christian documents, that in Jesus the eternal Word which was and is God became flesh. In Jesus,

Sanctification
formation

so Christians maintain, God's Kingdom began in a fresh way. This was partly because Jesus, being both God and man, disclosed by his life and his teachings what God intended man to be and what man might become. It was also because in and through Jesus God revealed His inmost nature and accomplished a work of central and supreme importance.

God, so the Christians declare, is love. The English word "love" is clumsy and ambiguous. It is used to cover a wide range of meanings. The Greek which the early Christians employed was more discriminating. But even that was inadequate. In "love," as that term is applied to God, the Christian discerns a self-giving which can never be perfectly described in words but which was disclosed in Jesus. This love was especially seen in the death of Jesus. Here, as one of the earliest Christians declared, although it appeared to be weakness and folly, were displayed both the power of God and the wisdom of God.¹ The crucifixion was followed by the resurrection. Through the resurrection, so Christians believe, God demonstrated that physical death not only does not end all but that it may be a stage in an endless life beyond history which is not merely continued existence—this might be and presumably will for some men be extraordinarily unhappy—but which is one of growing fellowship with God, God who is love. In the earliest documents the name for what God did in Jesus is not Christianity: it is Gospel, "Good News." The Gospel judges man by making clear as in no other way man's perversity and sin. It also releases life to overcome that perversity and sin. The purpose of God in history is that men shall be "conformed to the image of His son."²

The Christian understanding of history goes on to say that following the crucifixion and the resurrection God continued to operate through what Christians call the Holy Spirit. Through the Holy Spirit men can be remade and can enter upon the radiant, eternal life which from the beginning was God's plan for men. Those who have that life are characterized by faith, hope, and especially love, the kind of love which is of the very nature of God. They form a fellowship, the Church, which takes on a visible form or forms within history but which is never completely identical with any historic expression and continues beyond history. The course of history is God's search for man. God is judge, but He judges man that He may save him and transform him. God's grace, the love which man does not deserve and cannot earn, respects man's free will and endeavors to reach man through the incarnation, the cross, and the Holy Spirit. Here, to the Christian, is the meaning of history and its unifying core.

¹ I Cor. 1:18-25.

² Rom. 8:29.

God is love
The Holy Spirit
The Church

From the outset, the Christian view of history has embraced all men. From the Christian standpoint man is not necessarily central in the universe. There may be many other beings and on other planets or in other stellar systems whom God creates in His likeness, to whom He gives free will, and who abuse that free will. If so, His love also seeks them. If God is love, His love must be at work in all the universe. Yet on this planet God's love certainly includes all men. The early disciples were commanded to be "witnesses" "unto the uttermost parts of the earth,"³ to "make disciples of all nations," baptizing them, and teaching them to observe all that Jesus had commanded his original followers.⁴ This, presumably, also becomes the obligation of all subsequent Christians. It implies that the Christian goal can be nothing short of the full obedience of all men to God as He disclosed Himself in Jesus. This would entail the complete transformation of human society to bring society into entire conformity with God's will for man. Yet it seems clear that neither Jesus nor the early Christians expected within history the full conformation of mankind to the "measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."⁵ Both the wheat and the tares, the good and the evil, were expected to "grow" until the consummation of history.⁶ Beyond history, presumably outside of time, God is "to gather together all things in one in Christ, which are in heaven and which are on earth."⁷ God has always been sovereign, and in the cross and the resurrection He signally triumphed,⁸ but beyond history His sovereignty is to be seen as complete.

The Christian understanding of history differs radically from other views. It is in contrast with the ancient Persian dualism, for the latter implies separate origins of good and evil. This dualism means that the good God is not sovereign in history, because He has not created the universe as a whole, whereas Christianity regards God as creator and lord of all. Only a sovereign God can forgive sins as the Christian believes Him to do. Nor is Christianity pantheistic, as is so much of Indian philosophy, for it does not make God the author of what men call evil. Man's misery, so Christianity declares, arises from the abuse of the free will which God has given him. The Christian understanding of history is not exclusively cyclical. It recognizes eras and ages, but it holds that novelty enters, that new things happen. The great event, as the Christian sees it, was Jesus and Jesus was without precedent. So, too, the consummation will be new. Some interpretations of history seem to expect perfection within history, the coming of the ideal human society. This is the communist message. It appears to have been true of Comte and

³ Acts 1:8.⁴ Matt. 28:19, 20.⁵ Eph. 4:13.⁶ Matt. 13:24-30.⁷ Eph. 1:10.⁸ Col. 2:15.

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This shows no real
growth of things!

of Hegel. The Christian understanding of history does not necessarily deny progress. Obviously, the criteria for measuring advance must be established before we can say whether progress has occurred, and the Christian criteria are peculiarly Christian—growth in the likeness of God as God reveals Himself in Jesus. Christians are not agreed as to whether progress occurs in history. Some affirm it and others deny it. Yet few if any Christians have maintained that man will attain his full destiny within history.

Whow!

All this is, or should be, a commonplace to historians. It is simply an attempt at a restatement of what the majority of Christians have always believed. Many Christians would add to this or would amplify it. Many would regard it as inadequate and incomplete. Yet the overwhelming proportion would say that so far as it goes it is a summary of what Christians have held and hold today to be the Christian view of history. I would apologize for repeating it were it not necessary for any assessment of the Christian understanding of history.

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Several features of the Christian outlook must be especially noted if the historian would seek an appraisal by the standards which the members of his craft are currently inclined to apply.

First of all, he must be clear that here are frankly a perspective and a set of values which are the complete reverse of those which mankind generally esteems. We are told that unless a man is born again not only can he not enter, but he cannot even see (or presumably recognize) the Kingdom of God.⁹ On one memorable occasion the “prince of the apostles” was rebuked by Jesus for thinking like man and not like God.¹⁰ This was because he was shocked by the prospect of the crucifixion and sought to dissuade his master from it. Centuries before Jesus a famous story of the one of the prophets who was counted as among his greatest predecessors declared that God was not in the thunder nor in a mighty wind, where He was expected, but in a still small voice.¹¹ Another of the prophets in whose succession Jesus stood was emphatic that God’s thoughts are not man’s thoughts nor man’s ways God’s ways.¹² Of the crucifixion Paul declared that the “wise man” and the “scribe,” namely the scholar, completely miss its significance and that God makes foolish the wisdom of this world.¹³ In other words, if he is to understand history as God sees it, the historian must focus his attention upon events which he would normally ignore. From the Christian standpoint, the usual historian has an entirely distorted view of history and misses the most important features. This, may we add parenthetically, may be true of those who

⁹ John 3:3, 5.
¹² Isaiah 55:8.

¹⁰ Matt. 16:23.
¹³ I Cor. 1:20.

¹¹ I Kings 19:11–13.

deal with ecclesiastical as well as with political, economic, or intellectual history.

Even when the historian gives attention to the events which the Christian understanding deems most significant he may miss their real import. There is deep meaning in the plea, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."¹⁴ Had those who crucified Jesus dreamed that they were executing the Son of God they would, presumably, have drawn back in terror or in horror.

In the second place, the historian must recognize that from the viewpoint of Jesus the individual is of outstanding importance. In this he declared that he was expressing the mind of God. The Christian faith exalts the individual. Each human being, as we have said before, is regarded as intended for fellowship with the eternal God Who is love. It was to individuals that Jesus gave his attention. He healed men one by one. Some of his best remembered sayings and parables were to single persons. He spoke again and again of the value which God places on individuals. The concern of God for the erring, so he said, is like that of the shepherd who leaves the ninety and nine who are safe in the fold and seeks for the one sheep who is lost until he finds it,¹⁵ or like the father who longs for the return of a wayward son and rejoices when he appears, repentant.¹⁶

Jesus was deeply concerned for the fate of his people. In his day Palestine was seething with unrest which a few years later broke out in open revolt and was followed by the destruction of Jerusalem. He clearly foresaw what was coming, as must any intelligent, well-poised observer who took account of the mounting nationalistic and religious fanaticism and who knew the power of Rome. He believed that the destruction had not been unavoidable, that had its inhabitants been willing to heed him Jerusalem might have escaped, but that they were so blind that the doom of the city was sealed. So deeply pained was he by the prospect that he wept.¹⁷

Yet so far as we know Jesus never engaged in politics. Indeed, at the outset of his public career he had put aside as a palpable temptation the suggestion that he enter the political arena.¹⁸ To be sure, he was accused of treasonable aspirations and was crucified derisively as "the King of the Jews,"¹⁹ but it is quite clear that he believed his kingdom to be "not of this world"²⁰ and that as applied to what he had in mind and what he believed to be God's purpose, the term had for him far other significance than that given it by men. From the standpoint of political wisdom and when viewed prudently the

¹⁴ Luke 23:34.

¹⁵ Luke 4:5-8.

¹⁶ Luke 15:3-6.

¹⁷ Luke 15:11-24.

¹⁸ Mark 15:18, 26; Luke 23:1, 2.

¹⁹ Luke 19:41-44.

²⁰ John 18:36.

program which Jesus followed seemed the sheerest madness. On the visit to Jerusalem which issued in his death he pursued a course which could not but bring down on his head the wrath of the established authorities of religion and the state and yet he declined either to flee or to permit his followers to organize or to use armed force to defend him and his cause.

3. However, in the third place, Jesus did not ignore the social structures of mankind. He said much of the relation of individuals to other individuals and declared that the corollary of love for God is love for one's neighbor.²¹ The Kingdom of God, of which he so often spoke, is a society. Men are to enter that Kingdom one by one. When they enter it, as they can here and now, they are to act as its members and as though the Kingdom were already here. The standards of that Kingdom are so far above the actual attainments of any other society that Christians as members of the Kingdom are always a revolutionary force. It is not the purpose of the Gospel to save any culture. The rise and fall of cultures and empires are important in so far as they affect individuals, but the rise and fall may harm the individual no more than do the cultures and empires themselves. There is that in the Gospel, so Christians maintain, which enables individuals to pass through such experiences triumphantly, centers of healing and strength. Indeed, the collapse of an empire or a culture may make it possible to build what, from the Christian standpoint, is better. Christians must always challenge any civilization in which they are set. Yet they are not to be primarily destructive but constructive. They are to be "the salt of the earth" and "the light of the world."²²

Here at last appears to be something tangible on which the historian would like to believe that he can lay his hand and begin to measure. Surely he can determine where Christians, because of their faith, have been a molding force in history. Yet he is warned that, since the Christian set of values is different from that of the rank and file of men, the record of the accomplishments of Christians may not be preserved in the documents on which he relies. "The last shall be first and the first last."²³ The Kingdom of God, he is told, comes not by observation. Neither can men say about it "lo here and lo there."²⁴

- 4 In the fourth place, the Christian understanding of history regards history and time as surrounded by eternity. Christianity centers upon historical events and views God as acting in history. Yet it holds that the human drama is not completed in time, and that one must go beyond the events with which the historian deals and even beyond what is still to occur in !!!

²¹ Matt. 22:34-40.

²² Matt. 5:13, 14.

²³ Matt. 19:30.

²⁴ Luke 17:20, 21.

and cease being a historian!

time in order completely to see God's dealings with man. Of necessity and by its very nature history deals with time. Christianity centers upon events in time and also transcends them.

When he is confronted with the Christian understanding of history the historian may well feel baffled and even impatient. He may say with a wry smile that the Christian is like the Taoist who declared that those who know do not speak and that those who speak do not know.²⁵ Some of the key Christian convictions about history are not and cannot be subject to the tests which the historian is able to apply. For instance, the historian can neither absolutely prove nor disprove that God created man in His own image. Obviously he cannot reach beyond time and verify the Christian conviction concerning the goal of history. God cannot be fully known within history. If He could, He would be limited and would cease to be what the Christian faith believes Him to be.

So what?
The difficulty is inherent in the methods to which the historian is confined. He must deal with records. Through whatever channels are open to him he must attempt to determine what actually happened. The records which are accessible to the historian are usually very faulty. In appraising them and in arranging and interpreting events the historian relies on his reason. He knows that in most of the records and in his arrangement and interpretation of them there is subjectivity, a subjectivity from which he can never be entirely emancipated. He seeks through reason to reduce the subjective element to a minimum, but if he is honest and well equipped he knows something of the limitations of reason and also suspects that the subjective element can never be completely eliminated. The historian is himself part of history. He is caught in it and cannot fully stand apart from it or view it with undiluted objectivity.

These limitations on his work handicap the historian in all his endeavors, including his attempt to appraise any interpretation of history. It is not merely when he applies his tools to the Christian understanding of history that he is hampered. The historian is dealing with visible events, but there are also invisible forces which he cannot measure. If he is not to do violence to history the historian can never abstract fact from value. Yet his training, at least as usually given in our day, does not equip him to deal with the latter. Unless he is a thoroughgoing skeptic, the historian tries to discover a standard of values. Christianity professes to provide him with an absolute criterion. Yet by the processes which he normally employs the historian is

²⁵ Tao Tê Ching, 56.

clumsy and baffled when he comes to appraise the Christian or any other set of values.

However, limited though they are, the historian must employ such tools as he possesses. When he does so, much comes to light which tends to support the Christian understanding of history. The historian as historian can neither refute nor demonstrate the Christian thesis, but he can detect evidence which suggests a strong probability for the truth of the Christian understanding.

Increasingly it is apparent that history must be seen in its entire setting and that that setting is the universe. This is what the Christian has all along contended. More and more man by the scientific method is recognizing that the universe is orderly. This supports theism. An orderly universe which can be explored by human reason implies a reason and a will controlling that universe to which the human mind is akin. 1?

In the development of life on the earth there seems to be purpose. Man appears to be the culmination, at least at this stage, of the life process on the planet. So far as we know, man is the only creature who is interested in his own past and in seeking to understand the universe. It is quite unlikely that this is the outcome of blind chance. Moreover, in support of the Christian conviction, as life reaches what we believe to be higher stages, the biological process appears to be increasingly interested in the individual rather than the mass. Certainly individuals are more and more differentiated from one another.

The Christian belief about what happens beyond history gives relevance to the development of life on the earth. As we have said, it appears to be true that this development issues in ever higher forms of life of which man is, at least in the present stage, the highest. But man is obviously incomplete within history. He has longings which cannot be satisfied in the brief span of the existence of individuals in this flesh. The Christian view of history regards what occurs beyond physical death as essential to the realization of man's capacities and holds out confident hope of that fulfillment. This is what is embraced in what the theologian terms apocalypticism and eschatology. (

The Christian conception of man provides an intelligible and reasonable explanation of the tragic dilemma in which man increasingly finds himself. On the one hand man aspires to understand the universe and adds more and more to his fund of knowledge. This is what we would expect if man, as the Christian faith declares, is created in the image of God. Man is thinking God's thoughts after Him. It is clear, too, that were man to follow the law

of love which the Christian declares is written by God in man's nature, he would be freed from the ills which he now brings on himself. He would live in reverence and love of God and love of his neighbor. War would be banished. Men would co-operate the globe over in utilizing the resources of their environment for the physical and spiritual well-being of all. Just as clearly, through his departure from this law man brings on himself misery. The more his knowledge and mastery of his physical environment increase, the more man employs them on the one hand for his benefit and on the other for his woe. Indeed, through his misuse of that knowledge he threatens the existence of the civilization which he has created and even the race itself. In this the Christian sees the judgment by which God seeks to constrain man to do His will.

But what of the redeeming love which the Christian believes God to have displayed in Jesus? What evidence, if any, is there that this is present and is proving effective? It is, of course, clear that Jesus lived, that he taught and was crucified, that his disciples were profoundly convinced that he was raised from the dead and in the strength of that conviction set out to win the world to allegiance to him. As the centuries pass the evidence is accumulating that, measured by his effect on history, Jesus is the most influential life ever lived on this planet. That influence appears to be mounting. It does not increase evenly but by pulsations of advance, retreat, and advance. It has had an unprecedented growth in the past four and a half centuries and especially in the last century and a half. Christianity is now more widely spread geographically than it or any other religion has ever been. Only a very few peoples and tribes exist where it is not represented by organized groups.

This advance has been associated with the expansion of the Occident. As we all know, that expansion is a recent historical phenomenon. As we also know, Western Europe, from which that expansion stemmed, appears to be waning and at times it seems that in Western Europe itself Christianity is declining. Yet nations, notably the United States, which trace their source to Western Europe, are still continuing the expansion of the Occident, and the culture which had its origin in the West spreads ever more widely and rapidly. It has become global. That Occidental civilization is in part the product of Christianity is obvious. In art, literature, thought, education (for universities and many other new types of schools have owed to it an incalculable debt), in morals, and in social, economic, and political institutions Christianity has been a major factor. Democracy as the West understands that term is largely its child. A case can be made for the claim that science sprang from Christianity. Precisely to what degree Jesus is responsible for

Western culture is by no means clear. On that question large volumes could be written and the answers would not be definitive. Now the expansion of the Occident and its culture has by no means been an unmixed blessing to mankind. If Jesus has had a major share in the development of that culture and in its dynamic spread, we may well ask whether the redemption which the Christian declares that God wrought through him has been sufficiently potent to offset the ills that have accompanied the growth of what is often described as Christendom.

As the influence of Jesus has spread geographically, various results have followed which are evidence that the transforming power which Christians claim for it is at work. Because of it more languages have been reduced to writing than through all other agencies in the history of mankind. Literacy is not an unmixed blessing, but it can be and has been used to further the enrichment of man's life. Through the expansion of Western peoples and their culture, mankind has for the first time been brought together. To the degree that this is the result of the influence of Jesus it is a partial implementation of the dream of the unity of mankind which is a feature of the Christian understanding of history. The struggle to regulate and eventually to eliminate the wars which make our shrinking globe so perilous a neighborhood owes much to Jesus. That he was potent in such pioneers of international law as Francisco de Vitoria and Hugo Grotius is well attested. He can also be shown to have had a part in the initiation of the Hague conferences of the last generation. Such attempts at world-wide co-operation as the League of Nations and the United Nations are demonstrably to some extent from him. However, just how large his share has been in these achievements cannot accurately be measured.

Much clearer is the decisive part which Jesus has had in the efforts to combat slavery and other forms of the exploitation of men by their fellows. It is significant that the first Christian priest ordained in the New World, Bartolomé de Las Casas, was the chief pioneer in the struggle to protect the Indians against the cruelties of the Spaniards, to write humane statutes in the Laws of the Indies, and to seek their enforcement. The list is long of the Spanish and Portuguese laymen and clergy who, inspired and sustained by their Christian faith, labored to guard the non-Europeans in the colonies in both hemispheres from the callous selfishness of their fellow countrymen. The place of his Christian faith in impelling Wilberforce in his campaign against the Negro slave trade is well known. So, too, is the role of the Quakers, Samuel Hopkins, and those touched by the Finney revival, consciences made sensitive by commitment to the Christian faith, in the movement for the

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emancipation of Negro slaves in the United States. We are all aware of the efforts of the Christian missionary, David Livingstone, to curb the slave trade in Africa itself. Less familiar is the share of such Christian missionary leaders as John Philip and Cardinal Lavigerie in the campaign against African slavery. Christianity has been one of the most potent forces making for the liberation and advance of the depressed classes of India. Jesus was a major inspiration of Gandhi. In land after land he has contributed to the emancipation of women. In the impact of Occidental upon non-Occidental peoples Christian missions and other agencies inspired by him have made for improved medical care, for public health, for better methods of agriculture, and for schools and universities better adapted to the new day than were their predecessors. Increasingly these features of the influence of Jesus have been spreading and now in varying measure embrace mankind.

More and more the ecclesiastical organizations which we call churches are becoming world-wide. They seek, not unsuccessfully, to perpetuate the influence of Jesus and to incarnate the self-giving and the fellowship which are of the essence of the Christian Gospel. Their divisions and quarrels are familiar to the historian, but in spite of them the churches have become global. The largest, the Roman Catholic Church, is to be found in almost every land and people. The non-Roman Catholic churches are fully as widely distributed and have been drawing together through new types of organizations, several of which include some Roman Catholics.

The transforming love of God through Jesus is seen, so the Christian believes, not only in collective movements but also and primarily in individuals. Some of these individuals loom large in the records which are at hand for the historian. Among these are Paul of Tarsus, Augustine of Hippo, Francis of Assisi, Martin Luther, Ignatius Loyola, George Fox, and John Wesley. Indeed, the list could be extended to many pages. What from the Christian standpoint would be a full and therefore an accurate list can never be compiled, for it would need to include untold millions for whom no record survives. Moreover, for those whose records we have, we cannot determine with complete accuracy just which qualities and changes of character are due to the Christian faith and which to other factors. For the qualities of character, too, which the Christian view prizes no accurate measurements are possible. They are real, but are not capable of being plumbed by the methods which are at the historian's disposal. Nor can we judge their full effects on other lives and upon human society as a whole. Yet we have enough information to permit some generalizations which possess rough accuracy. We know that under Christian influence changes in character

take place. Sometimes these appear to be sudden. More often they come by gradual, almost imperceptible stages. In some lives they are outstanding. In many they are slight. Yet when we see them we recognize them. They are the qualities commended in the Sermon on the Mount and in other parts of the Gospels and in the Epistles of the New Testament. Often we find them nourished in small groups of those who have sought to commit themselves fully as Christians. Indeed, those in whom the Christian faith predominates as a transforming force have always been small minorities. Yet often they have had effects which far outstrip their own borders.

These many results of Christianity, in society at large, in individuals, and in groups, are what we would expect from what the Christian calls the Holy Spirit. They are, so the Christian maintains, in consequence of stimuli issuing from the divine initiative, stimuli marked by the characteristics displayed in Jesus and tied up historically with him. Yet they are more than the lengthened influence of a great life. The Christian understanding of history is that it is through the Holy Spirit which is God Himself that God continues to work in history. Thus God respects man's will but continuously brings His love to bear on man. It is through the Holy Spirit, the Christian believes, that as the centuries pass the influence of Jesus grows rather than wanes.

Somewhere in this region lies a possible explanation of one of the most perplexing questions provoked by the Christian understanding of history.

Why is it that what the Christian deems evil and good continue side by side in individuals and in groups? Why do even ecclesiastical bodies display both, bodies presumably the result of God's love, the embodiment of the Christian community of love? Why do some of the chronic ills of mankind, notably war, attain their most colossal dimensions in lands and through peoples that have long been under Christian influence? Why are some of what seem to be the gifts of God and the effects of Christianity twisted to man's hurt? Here we recall the fashion in which science and its fruits are so often turned to man's destruction. Has God failed? Is His sovereignty compromised? Is His salvation through Jesus frustrated? Is the influence of Jesus, though growing, always to be a minority force, outstripped by the forces opposed to it and perhaps even provoking them to greater activity? Is, therefore, the Christian view of history an illusion?

As we meditate on these persistent questions we need to remind ourselves again that the Christian understanding of history presupposes a degree of freedom of man's will, sufficient for man to accept or reject God's love. We must also recall that the issues are not new. They are posed in their most vivid form in the crucifixion of Jesus. Here, as the Christian sees

it, man's blindness to God's purpose and man's self-assertiveness were in stark contrast with the seeming weakness and futility of God's chosen way of showing His love. Indeed, this is what we should expect if the Christian teaching of man and God is in accord with the facts. Man's rebellion becomes most marked when God's love is most clearly displayed. In the cross and in the other perversions of God's gifts is seen the judgment as well as the love of God.

Yet, if God is love and is sovereign, His judgments must be a way to the triumph of His love. It is, therefore, not surprising that following the crucifixion there came a fresh release of power in the lives of those who began to see something of the significance of the death of Jesus and freely accepted the forgiveness and love of God. It is understandable that the cross became the symbol of the Christian faith and has been the confidence and inspiration of millions to face triumphantly the evil in them and about them. Similarly the abuses of God's love which have followed the crucifixion and have been painfully apparent in those cultures where the influence of Jesus has been most marked have been the occasion for millions to seek to eliminate the evils of which they are the symptoms and thus have given rise to something better than had been there before, both in individual lives and in the collective life of mankind.

The struggle continues. Civilization becomes more complex. All mankind is bound together ever more closely in the bundle of life and the disorders of one segment affect the whole. Yet the efforts to combat these disorders mount and more and more make themselves felt throughout the earth. Increasingly they have a major source in Jesus, and what Christians have believed about his birth, his life, his death, and his resurrection. Here is one of the strongest reasons for confidence in the accuracy of the Christian view of history. The historian, be he Christian or non-Christian, may not know whether God will fully triumph within history. He cannot conclusively demonstrate the validity of the Christian understanding of history. Yet he can establish a strong probability for the dependability of its insights. That is the most which can be expected of human reason in any of the realms of knowledge.

A pedestrian, old-fashioned, conservative
recital; credulous, literalistic. Everything
is classified under "Christian" by way of his
definition of Christian.

I have read this address with some
sorrow and chagrin - October 28 '49.

John Evans' Strange Journey

Part I. The Welsh Indians

DAVID WILLIAMS*

NO historian of any phase of American history around 1800, even though he be as far away as Wales, can fail to sight the towering figure of Thomas Jefferson. If he writes of exploration beyond the Mississippi, some act or utterance of Jefferson either sets his course or gives him a point of departure. This is true of the story here told of the journeys of a simple Methodist Welshman, John Evans, who made a map of his wanderings. But the story of John Evans and why he wandered and made the map that came into Jefferson's hands to be passed on by him to Meriwether Lewis has a fabled background in the twelfth century. It involves the more extensive wanderings of a mythical Welsh prince and his followers and their reputed descendants, the Welsh Indians.¹ Thus John Evans becomes the connecting link between two stories, neither one told before in full to Americans. The first, that of the Welsh Indians, might have been left to an allusive paragraph introducing John Evans and his map. But a reading public that is hearing much of the Newport Tower and the Kensington rune stone may not be uninterested in a story that begins in an equally dim past. Its sources and names are to an American unpronounceably Welsh but this need not trouble the reader interested in the origin of a myth so persistent that it brought John Evans to the plains of the Dakotas and finally, while in the service of the Spanish king, to death and an unmarked grave in New Orleans. It will, I hope, relieve him of the necessity of looking wise though uncomprehending when the Welsh Indians are mentioned or of reading any more about them unless he is a philologist or a folklorist. But the story, remote though its origins may be, still begins with the inescapable Jefferson and John Evans' map. The nexus of these two is the oft-told story of the expedition of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Captain William Clark, who set out from their

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¹ For assistance in connection with certain matters I am indebted to Mrs. Helen Ramage, Mr. Ifor B. Powell, Professor R. A. Preston, Dr. M. M. Quaife, Mr. E. E. Rich, and Professor G. J. Williams. Quotation from documents in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company is by the kind permission of the governor and committee of the Company. The Missouri Historical Society was good enough to supply a photostat copy of James Mackay's unpublished notes on the "Indian Tribes."

camp above St. Louis on May 14, 1804, and reached the Pacific Coast on November 15, 1805. This historic safari needs only to be recalled, not retold.²

The leader of the expedition, Captain Meriwether Lewis, was a protégé of Thomas Jefferson, who, on becoming President of the United States in 1801, had appointed him his private secretary. No one appreciated more fully than Jefferson the importance of western exploration, and even before the final purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon in 1803 he had obtained from Congress a grant of 2,500 dollars for this expedition. News of the purchase, in fact, reached Washington as the explorers were about to start. Jefferson also took a personal interest in collecting for Lewis all the information available and on January 13, 1804, he wrote to him as follows:

I now enclose you a map of the Missouri as far as the Mendans, 12 or 1500 miles I presume above its mouth; it is said to be very accurate having been done by a Mr. Evans by order of the Spanish government, but whether he corrected by astronomical observation or not we are not informed.

Nine days later Jefferson wrote again:

In that of the 13th inst. I enclosed you a map of a Mr. Evans, a Welshman, employed by the Spanish government for that purpose, but whose original object I believe had been to go in search of the Welsh Indians said to be up the Missouri. On this subject a Mr. Rees of the same nation established in the Western part of Pennsylvania will write to you.³

The "Mr. Evans, a Welshman," whose strange quest in the New World had thus come to the notice of the President of the United States, was a certain John Thomas Evans. He was a native of Waunfawr, in his day a long, straggling village, partly in the parish of Llanbeblig and partly in that of Betws Garmon, some three to four miles from the town of Caernarvon. The village is important in the early history of Methodism in North Wales, and the first "society" in this district was founded in the farmhouse of Hafod y Rhug, possibly by the great Methodist leader, Howell Harris, himself.⁴ Care of the little flock fell to Evan Dafydd, the tenant of Hafod y Rhug, who thereupon became a Methodist exhorter. After his death in 1750 this duty devolved upon his son-in-law, Thomas Evans, who had moved into the

² Of the many accounts the latest is John Bakeless, *Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery* (New York, 1947).

³ Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The Original Journals of Lewis and Clark* (New York, 1904), VII, 291-92. In the index Thwaites wrongly identifies Evans with Lewis Evans, the Pennsylvanian map maker. (For Lewis Evans see H. N. Jerman, "Lewis Evans, Mapmaker," *National Library of Wales Journal*, II [1942], 173-74.) For no apparent reason Thwaites identifies Rees with Thomas Rees, a bookseller of London. As will be seen later on, this Rees was Morgan John Rhys. No letter from him to Meriwether Lewis seems to be extant.

⁴ W. Hobbey, *Hanes Methodistiaeth Arfon* (Caernarvon, 1913), II, 24.

locality from Tai'r Ffynnon, near Bangor, possibly on his marriage.⁵ He lived first of all at the farmhouse of Gwredog Uchaf, and here it is presumed that his son John Evans, the future explorer, was born in 1770.⁶ Later the family moved to Hafod Olau, on the other side of the River Gwyrfa.

The father gained some distinction as a preacher, and went on extended preaching tours to other parts of Wales. In his own locality his influence was great, but he died of tuberculosis on September 4, 1788, at the early age of forty-eight.⁷ One of his sons, Evan Evans, followed his father's calling and was a preacher of unusual promise, but he, also, died on February 24, 1797, probably of the same disease, when he was only twenty-four.⁸ It is evident, therefore, that the explorer was brought up in a pious home, and it is well to realize that the purpose of his journey later on was, at least in part, a missionary one.⁹ He wished, he said, to open the door of everlasting gospel to the wretched savages.¹⁰ Indeed, one of the supporters of his venture deplored the fact that, judging by his letters, he had some of the "giddiness" of the Methodists.¹¹

Among the associates of his childhood was the son of another Methodist exhorter of Waunfawr. This was David Thomas, known to Welsh letters as Dafydd Ddu Eryri, and perhaps the most considerable poet of his day in Wales. He was some ten years older than John Evans, whose father he commemorated in an elegy,¹² and as he opened a school in the village before he was twenty¹³ it may well be that he was John Evans' schoolmaster. It is also

⁵ For the locality of Tai'r Ffynnon see Hobley, II, 28, and *Y Drysorfa*, 1883, pp. 177-78. This place must have remained in the possession of the family, for in a letter from John Evans to Thomas Evans, whom he addresses as "Dear Brother," from Baltimore, dated St. Stephen's Day (December 26), 1792, he states that were Thomas Evans to sell Tai'r Ffynnon and come to America he could buy with the money a tract of land larger than the estate of Glyn Llifon. *Cylchgrawn Cymmraeg*, II (May, 1793), 114-16. The fact that John Evans bore the baptismal names of John Thomas does not necessarily preclude his having a brother named Thomas. Dr. Samuel Jones also wrote on May 8, 1793, from Lower Dublin, Pennsylvania, to Thomas Evans about his brother. *Ibid.*, II (August, 1793), 150.

⁶ He was christened on April 14, 1770. "John the son of Thomas Evan and Anne his wife," entry in parish register of Betws Garmon; transcript in National Library of Wales.

⁷ Hobley, *loc. cit.*; Robert Jones, Rhos Lan, *Drych yr Amseroedd*, ed. by O. M. Edwards (Wrexham, 1898), p. 117; D. J. Lewis, *Dau Can Mlwyddiant Bethel, Y Waunfawr* (Caernarvon, 1946), p. 23.

⁸ Hobley, *loc. cit.*; Robert Jones, *loc. cit.*; He was christened on January 27, 1773. That there was a brother, David, in addition to John, Evan, and Thomas is shown by the obituary notice of (Mrs.) Ann Jones, daughter of David Evans of Hafod Olau, in *Y Drysorfa*, 1861, p. 98, which mentions the family connection.

⁹ Isaac Foulkes, *Geirlyfr Bywgraffiadol o Enwogion Cymru* (Liverpool, 1870), sub nom. John Evans.

¹⁰ John Evans to Thomas Evans, Dec. 26, 1792, *Cylchgrawn Cymmraeg*, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ William Jones, Llangadfan to William Owen [-Pughe], n.d., National Library of Wales, MS. 13221 E, folio 301. The word used is "*penchwibandod*."

¹² David Thomas, "Marwnad er coffadwriaeth am Thomas Evans o'r Waunfawr yn Arfon," *Corph Y Gainc neu Ddiwyrch Teuluaid* (Caernarvon, 1834), pp. 355-62.

¹³ Robert Williams, *Eminent Welshmen* (Llandovery, 1852), p. 484, sub nom. David Thomas.

possible that it was Dafydd Ddu who gave him introduction to the group of London Welshmen who were so profoundly to influence his life, for the poet was in frequent correspondence with them. Certain it is that the youth went to London to earn his livelihood, though when or in what occupation is not known.¹⁴

This London-Welsh group had its center in the literary society of the Gwyneddigion, which had been founded in 1771 and was now at the height of its activity. Their leader and patron was Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr), a prosperous furrier in Thames Street. But their literary mentor was the lexicographer William Owen (who adopted the name of Pughe on succeeding to an estate in 1806). Among other members was David Samwell, a surgeon in the Royal Navy who had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyages and had witnessed his death at the hands of the natives in the Hawaiian Islands. It was the Gwyneddigion Society which sponsored the re-establishment of the eisteddfod, and the political sympathies of its members were apparent in the subject, "Liberty," which they set for the prize poem and prize essay at the St. Asaph eisteddfod of 1790. The winning poem was that of David Thomas (Dafydd Ddu Eryri), and the essay prize went to Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain). They were also reputed to be supporters of the *Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg*, the first periodical in Welsh to discuss political matters, whose editor, a Baptist minister, Morgan John Rhys, had imbibed some of the ideas of the French Revolution during his stay in Paris in 1791. But the most picturesque of their associates was Edward Williams (Iolo Morganwg), the self-styled "Bard of Liberty." A literary stonemason of Glamorgan, a poet of some repute in both Welsh and English, he was, without question, the most erudite man of his day in the history of Wales and of its literature, but the romantic atmosphere of the time and his own perversity led him to fabricate a wealth of ancient historical and literary material, which he successfully imposed upon his contemporaries to the confusion of Welsh scholarship until our own day.

The society of Gwyneddigion met on the first Monday of every month, and out of it seems to have grown another society, the Caradogion, meeting every Saturday night at the Bull's Head in Wallbrook. Without doubt, the primary purpose of both societies was convivial, but their discussions were literary, and out of them came in 1801 the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, edited by Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr), William Owen [-Pughe] and Edward Wil-

¹⁴ In the letter to Thomas Evans to which reference has been made, John Evans asks the recipient to inform his friend (*fy nghar*), David Thomas, that he had sung one of his carols on the previous day, *i.e.*, on Christmas Day. He says that he had already more friends in America than in Wales or in England, which implies some stay in England, presumably in London, before his departure.

liams (Iolo Morganwg). This was a corpus of genuine old Welsh texts mingled with Williams' fabrications, for the prosperous furrier, despite his real interest in Welsh antiquities, was in no position to detect literary forgeries, and the lexicographer's industry was matched only by his credulity. All, indeed, were incurably romantic, and for them the line was very faint between what was true and what they wished to believe. In common with all writers of the romantic movement they were especially interested in everything which was strange and remote in place and time. Small wonder, then, that they seized with avidity on the legend of the discovery of the New World in the year 1170 by Madoc, the son of Owain Gwynedd, a prince of North Wales, and of the existence in the wilds of America of a tribe of Welsh Indians descended from him and his followers.

The Madoc legend has produced a voluminous literature, some of it critical but most of it devoid of any value whatsoever. This confused mass of material was subjected to a rigorous examination by Thomas Stephens in the essay which he unsuccessfully submitted to the Llangollen eisteddfod of 1858 and which was published posthumously in 1893 under the editorship of Llywarch Reynolds.¹⁵ Since Stephens' examination of it, further belief in the legend can only be regarded as a matter of faith not dependent upon proof. Stephens had little difficulty in showing that the genuine chronicles of Wales, the *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogion*, not only do not mention the discovery but know nothing of a son to Owain Gwynedd named Madoc. Yet, conclusive as Stephens' argument was, his case would have been stronger had he noticed that the Madoc mentioned by the bard Cynddelw, a contemporary of Owain Gwynedd, was a member of the prince's bodyguard and not of his family,¹⁶ while the Madoc of another contemporary bard, Prydydd y Moch, is of unknown parentage,¹⁷ and is associated with Owain Gwynedd only by the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*.¹⁸ Needless to say, neither poet has any reference to the discovery of land in the west. Moreover the supposedly medieval triad on "the three disappearances of the island of Britain,"¹⁹ which speaks of the disappearance of Garvan son of Aeddan, of Merddin the bard of Aurelius Ambrosius, and, thirdly, of "Madoc, son of Owain, who went to sea with three hundred men in ten ships, and it is not

¹⁵ Thomas Stephens, *Madoc: An Essay on the Discovery of America by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1893). The essay was not awarded the prize as the subject set implied the truth of the legend and Stephens sought to prove that it was untrue.

¹⁶ Owen Jones, William Owen [-Pughe], and Edward Williams, eds., *Myvyrian Archaeology* (London, 1801), I, 225. The word "*teulu*" was used in the sense of bodyguard.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 289.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, xxv.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 59. Triads, associating together three persons or incidents, are a common literary form in medieval Welsh.

known to what place they went," is an invention of Iolo Morganwg, who was not above fabricating a little evidence on occasion.²⁰ Indeed the only authentic reference before Elizabethan times to a son to Owain Gwynedd named Madoc is in a poem, dated about 1440, by Maredudd ap Rhys.²¹ But this poet makes no mention of his discovery of America, or even of his sailing to the west. He merely quotes Madoc's love of the sea to justify his own devotion to the craft of fishing. In this matter he adduces also the example of St. Peter, but no one has based thereon an argument for the prior discovery of America by the apostle.

How the legend arose still remains a mystery, but it found its way into the "Historie of Cambria" which the reputable Tudor geographer, Humphrey Lhoyd of Denbigh, left unpublished when he died in 1568.²² Lhoyd speaks of Madoc's discovery of a new land, which he identifies as either Nova Hispania or Florida, of his return home, and of his second departure. The author admits that there were "manie fables fained" of this voyage, "but sure it is," he adds, "that there he was." Lhoyd also touches upon a matter of great interest to the Elizabethans, for he draws this conclusion: "whereupon it is manifest that that countrie was long before by Brytaines discovered, afore either Columbus or Americus Vesputius lead anie Spaniardes thither." Striking corroboration of this was soon to be obtained in the tales told by one David Ingram of Barking, who had sailed with Sir John Hawkins, for he proved to be the first of many travelers to hear Welsh words spoken by aborigines in America. So when the legend first appeared in print it was in a pamphlet by Sir George Peckham written in 1583 to prove Queen Elizabeth's lawful title to the New World based not only on Sir Humphrey Gilbert's discoveries but also on those of Madoc.²³ Peckham relied both on David Ingram and on an "auncient Welch chronicle," but he fell into error in his comments on the Welsh words which Ingram thought he had heard, especially the name of a strange new bird, the penguin, for in his account Pengwyn appears as the name both of an island and of a bird. "In trueth," he adds in reference to the latter, "they say the Fowles have white heads," but

²⁰ G. J. Williams, *Iolo Morganwg a Chywyddau'r Ychwanegiad* (London, 1926), p. 196. Stephens, in fact, suspected that this triad was not older than the seventeenth century. Stephens, p. 21.

²¹ Ifor Williams, ed., *Gwynedd MS 3* (Cardiff, 1931), p. 201.

²² H. Lhoyd, "The historie of Cambria now called Wales . . . corrected augmented and continued out of Records and best approved Authors, by David Powel, Doctor in divinitie" (1584). The MS. is Cotton Caligula A. vi. ff 1-221 (British Museum).

²³ Anon. [Sir George Peckham], *A True Reporte of the late discoveries and possession taken in the right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Landes: By that valiant and worthye Gentleman, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight. Whercin is also briefly sette downe her highnesse lawfull Tytle thereunto . . .* (London, 1583).

in this Ingram was wrong, for despite the similarity of the name to the two Welsh words, "white head," the heads of penguins are black.

Dr. David Powel, whose augmented edition of Humphrey Lhoyd appeared the following year, avoided some of Peckham's errors (the island, for example, now became a "white rock"), but he evidently relied on Peckham, as the sidenotes to his account indicate. He identified the chronicle as that of Gutyn Owen, which, indeed, he claimed to have seen, but such a work is not otherwise known to have existed. Hakluyt, however, printed both Dr. Powel's version²⁴ and Peckham's pamphlet,²⁵ thus giving wide currency to the story at a time when the struggle with Spain was at its height. "And therefore some went about to entitle Queen Elizabeth to the sovereignty of these countries," states Peter Heylyn, the geographer, who however adds, despite his own Welsh origin, that "she wisely did reject these counsels . . . not loving to put her sithe into another man's harvest,"²⁶ a sentiment which may well be a reflection of King James's anxiety, when this was being written in 1621, to cause no offense to Spain.

In the seventeenth century the Madoc legend was often repeated, though with no great change, until 1686, when it received a startling addition. In that year one Morgan Jones, a minister in the neighborhood of New York, signed a formal statement to the effect that seventeen years previously he had been captured south of Virginia by the Tuscorara tribe of Indians. As they were about to put him to death he uttered a few words in Welsh, and, to his amazement, these were understood by an Indian of the Doeg tribe who was present. The Doeg thereupon arranged for his ransom and took him to his own people, among whom Morgan Jones lived for four months, preaching to them in the British tongue, as, indeed, could have been expected of him, no less often than three times a week.²⁷

This strange story was told by Morgan Jones to the Welsh Quaker, Thomas Lloyd, one of the ablest of the political leaders of Pennsylvania in its early days, who acted as president of its provincial council in Penn's absence, and the formal statement which Jones had signed was sent by

²⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1927), V, 79-80.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 42-78.

²⁶ Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmos: A Little Description of the Great World* (6th ed., Oxford, 1633), p. 768.

²⁷ This statement has been printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1740 (by Theophilus Evans. This version differs in slight details from the others); in Rivington's *New York Gazette*, 1770; in N. Owen, *British Remains* (London, 1777); in George Burder, *The Welsh Indians, or a Collection of Papers . . . dedicated to the Missionary Society* (Coventry, 1797); in James Riker, *Annals of Newtown in Queen's County, New York* (New York, 1852); in Edward Owen, "Prince Madoc's Discovery of America," *Red Dragon* (1886). A transcript made for Thomas Pennant is in N.L.W., MS. 2577 B.

Lloyd to his brother, Charles Lloyd of Dolobran in Montgomeryshire.²⁸ It was to become the basis of all subsequent theories about the existence of Welsh Indians, and its veracity is therefore a matter of some importance. In the absence of other evidence, belief in its authenticity must largely depend upon an estimate of Morgan Jones's character, and this turns out to have been somewhat questionable. He had been a fellow student of Thomas and Charles Lloyd at Jesus College, Oxford,²⁹ and had emigrated to America presumably soon after the Restoration of Charles II. In 1680 he became the third pastor of the Presbyterian church at Newtown, in the immediate neighborhood of New York. But he was soon in difficulties with his flock about the payment of his salary, and took the matter to the courts. He removed to Staten Island, but the same difficulties arose there, some of his members giving as their excuse for nonpayment that he was a man of "ill-life and conversation." He then returned to his church at Newtown, though his claims against his flock were still outstanding, but within a few months he had moved to another church in the neighborhood. On the whole, what is known of his career does not produce much confidence in the truth of his extraordinary statement.³⁰

When his narrative first appeared in print, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1740, war had once more broken out between Spain and England, and the Reverend Theophilus Evans' article on the subject in this periodical is called "The Crown of England's Title to America prior to that of Spain."³¹ But in the course of the eighteenth century the story became of

²⁸ Charles Lloyd to "Hon^d Cousin," Aug. 14, 1704, in N. Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-11. According to Theophilus Evans, *loc. cit.*, the account came into the possession of Edward Lhuyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.

²⁹ Charles Lloyd, *loc. cit.* He has been identified with Morgan Jones, the ejected Baptist minister of Llanmadoc (Henry Blackwell, *A Bibliography of Welsh Americana, National Library of Wales Journal*, Supplement Series III, No. 1. [1942], p. 68). Calamy, however, dismisses this Morgan Jones as "an honest ploughman" (Edmund Calamy, *The Nonconformist's Memorial*, ed. by Samuel Palmer [London, 1803], III, 502). This would be cavalier treatment of an alumnus of Jesus College, even if Calamy's dislike of Baptists is taken into account. Moreover the Morgan Jones who was captured by the Indians was minister of a Presbyterian church.

³⁰ Riker, *Annals of Newtown*. The relevant extracts were communicated by H.B.N.Y. (*i.e.*, Henry Blackwell, New York) to *Bye-Gones Relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, Sept. 16, 1891, pp. 168-69. Henry Blackwell in his MS. "Dictionary of Welsh Biography," N.L.W., MS. 9263 A, quotes the following extract from the town records of Newtown: "Att Towne meating, Feb. 28, 1683, it is also voted that Mr. Morgan Jones shall be scoole master of Newtown, and will teach on the Sabath days to those that will come to hear him, allowing him for exercising on the Sabath day what every one pleases." On the basis of this, Blackwell and several other writers claim for Morgan Jones the distinction of having established a Sunday School a century before Robert Raikes. This is an obvious misreading of the record. His teaching on the Sabbath, for which he is to have a free will offering, is obviously intended to mean his ordinary ministerial duties. His quarrel with his flock in his earlier stay at Newtown had been on the question whether each inhabitant of the town should be assessed for a contribution to the minister's salary or whether they should make a free will offering, "what every one pleases." His duties as "scoole master" were evidently an additional source of income on weekdays.

³¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1740, pp. 103-105. The writer was the author of *Drych y*

interest for a new reason, as the Protestant churches of Europe and America embarked upon ever-increasing missionary activity, for the missionaries, like the Elizabethan travelers, soon came across men who had heard Indians speak a language which appeared to be Welsh.³² It was a matter of more than usual urgency to bring the gospel to these benighted descendants of Madoc. For it seemed to be generally assumed that they had lost their religion, though, according to some accounts, they preserved a sacred "book" or parchment, which was believed to be the Bible in Welsh. Writers on the subject were not troubled by any considerations as to how Madoc could have taken a "book" to America three hundred years before the invention of printing, or how he had become possessed of a version of the scriptures in Welsh four hundred years before the translation of the Bible into that language. Strange tales, also, now became generally current about the existence in the Far West of Indians who were lighter in skin than the other tribes. These could be regarded as the descendants of Madoc or of the early Norsemen, according to the taste and nationality of the narrator. But whatever their origin, they exercised a fascination on the minds of a generation brought up on tales of exploration in strange lands, while the growth of national sentiment, which was related to the same romantic movement in literature, led the Welsh, as it did other peoples, to take pride in the legendary glories of their race. It was to be expected that sooner or later someone would go in search of the Welsh Indians.

Among those interested in Madoc was the Reverend William Richards, a Welsh Baptist minister of King's Lynn in Norfolk, who combined a skeptical attitude toward some of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion with an entirely uncritical acceptance of narratives concerning the religion of the druids, as well as of the fabrications of Iolo Morganwg.³³ On October 14, 1789, he wrote to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* a letter setting forth a full account of Madoc, and of Morgan Jones's adventures, and adding that he understood that "a Welsh gentleman now in London" was "actually engaged in an expedition to the New World in order fully to ascertain the truth of this ancient tradition."³⁴ This letter the editor did not publish, but

Prif Oesoedd (1st ed., 1716; 2d ed., 1740), a highly uncritical history of Wales which is of great literary value.

³² Charles Beatty, *The Journal of Two Months' Tour with a view of promoting Religion among the Frontier Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (London, 1768), pp. 24-26.

³³ See, e.g., his "Essay on Druidism," prefixed to his *Welsh Nonconformists' Memorial: or Cambro-British Biography* (London, 1820).

³⁴ This letter is printed in John Evans, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Reverend William Richards, LL.D.* (London, 1819), pp. 264-71. Richards had obtained his information about the proposed expedition from the *Bury Post* for August 26, 1789. He did not know the identity of the Welsh gentleman.

he accepted another letter, dated October 24, from a correspondent who signed himself "M.F.," and who incorporated a paper giving all the Elizabethan references to Madoc. From these "M.F." argued that if prior discovery gave a title to any land then England had a full claim to America.³⁵ It is evident that the outbreak of yet another conflict with Spain (this time over Nootka Sound) had revived interest in this matter, and that it was this aspect which appeared of importance to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

In the meantime another literary dissenting minister, Dr. John Williams of Sydenham,³⁶ had been collecting evidence on the subject for "above thirty years," which he had intended to publish "had the late misunderstanding with Spain never happened."³⁷ It was, however, early in 1791 that his book appeared under the title *An Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwynedd about the Year 1170*. With formidable erudition, the author dealt not only with the Spanish claim, but with the evidence from Elizabethan writers and from Morgan Jones's narrative, and particularly, as might be expected, from missionary reports.

The book evidently caused the most intense interest among London Welshmen, who were not difficult to convince in the matter. They became doubly certain when corroboration came from a mysterious visitor to London in the spring of 1791. This was a Cherokee chief named William Bowles, on whom the courtesy title of "general" was usually bestowed. In fact, Bowles was not an Indian at all, but an Irish-American married to a Cherokee wife, who had chosen to live among the savages and become an Indian warrior. His presence in London evidently caused some stir, and so Dr. David Samwell and William Owen [-Pughe] sought his opinion on the matter which interested them. They had two interviews with him,³⁸ and came away fully convinced, for the general knew of a Welshman who had escaped from Mexico and had crossed through the country of the Welsh Indians. It was the general, also, who identified these Indians with the Padoucas, a name which immediately impressed the lexicographer, William Owen [-Pughe], as a corruption of Madogwys, the people of Madoc. Further evidence than this no reasonable person could require.

Dr. Samwell reported to the Gwyneddigion on the very day of his first

³⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1789, p. 1067.

³⁶ For his life see *Cambrian Register*, III (1818), 190-91.

³⁷ John Williams, *An Enquiry into the Truth of the Tradition concerning the Discovery of America by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwynedd about the Year 1170* (London, 1791), p. viii.

³⁸ William Owen [-Pughe] to Paul Panton, Apr. 2, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 32 B, folio 96.

"audience" with General Bowles.³⁹ William Owen [-Pughe], also, conveyed the new information to his many friends and acquaintances, to Dafydd Ddu Eryri, for example, who replied somewhat skeptically.⁴⁰ He wrote identical letters to the two literary squires, Paul Panton of Plas Gwyn in Anglesey⁴¹ and Thomas Pennant of Downing in Flintshire,⁴² mentioning that several persons were ready to go in search of the Indians, but that a small "subscription" would be necessary to enable them to do so, and expressing a hope that this would have the exalted patronage of his correspondents. It was, no doubt, with the same idea of raising funds that he began a series of letters to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in each of which he was able to produce new evidence.⁴³

Meanwhile there was much searching of maps and globes, and the Padoucas were located beyond the Missouri River.⁴⁴ This was certainly far enough away from the Cherokees, and still further from the mysterious Doegs to whom Morgan Jones had preached, but, in the wilds of America, a distance of a thousand miles or so was, no doubt, a small matter. To clarify their ideas the Caradogion decided further to devote an evening, early in May, 1791, to a debate on the subject,⁴⁵ and to this they invited the general, but he was not able to be present. The authenticity of the legend was defended in this debate by William Owen [-Pughe] and Dr. Samwell, and their opponents were Sion Ceiriog (John Edwards) and Ned Môn (Edward Jones). It would appear that this session at the Bull's Head was unusually uproarious, if reliance is to be placed on a satirical poem, "The Padouca Hunt" in which Dr. Samwell celebrated the occasion, but this production, itself, leaves one in some doubt as to the genuineness of the doctor's own professed belief in Madoc.⁴⁶

³⁹ David Samwell to the Gwyneddigion, Mar. 23, 1791, in British Museum Additional MS. 14957; printed in *Notes and Queries*, Mar. 2, 1850, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1926-27, pp. 111-12, and *National Library of Wales Journal*, II (1942), 143.

⁴⁰ David Thomas to William Owen [-Pughe], Mar. 28, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 325.

⁴¹ William Owen [-Pughe] to Paul Panton, Apr. 2, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 32 B, folios 92-97 (copy).

⁴² William Owen [-Pughe] to Thomas Pennant, Apr. 2, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 9072 E, folio 253 (copy).

⁴³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1791, p. 329; May, 1791, p. 396; June, 1791, p. 534.

⁴⁴ Deslisle's map of Louisiana (1718) gives the Padoucas as inhabiting the upper reaches of the Kansas River. This map was followed by most eighteenth century cartographers. It is reproduced in Raphael N. Hamilton, "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (1934), 656. The Padoucas were visited by De Bourgmont in 1724; Louis Houck, *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), I, 204.

⁴⁵ Owen Jones (Owain Myvyr) to Walter Davies (Gwallter Mechain), May 5, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 1806, folio 434, printed in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1926-27, p. 111, and reproduced in *National Library of Wales Journal*, II (1941), 63 and *ibid*, II (1942), 142-43. Owen Jones has already conveyed Bowles's evidence to Walter Davies, same to same, April 10, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 1806 D, folio 433.

⁴⁶ *Padouca Hunt. An Heroic Poem with Notes, Critical and Explanatory*, reproduced in

The learned, if heterodox, Baptist minister of Lynn, Dr. William Richards, also had been examining maps, in Dr. Morgan Jones's academy in Hammer-smith, and had located the Padoucas on the Missouri.⁴⁷ Moreover he communicated with the pastor of the Baptist church at Lower Dublin, near Philadelphia, Dr. Samuel Jones, and found that he was a firm believer in the existence of white Indians.⁴⁸ But a much more formidable researcher had now entered the field in the person of one of Dr. Samuel Jones's distant relatives.⁴⁹ This was none other than the Bard of Liberty, Iolo Morganwg, whom Dr. Richards characterized as "the Taliesin and Aneurin of his age, and one of the most worthy and distinguished characters among the present generation of Cambro-Britons."⁵⁰

Iolo was in London in the summer of 1791 in connection with the publication of his forthcoming *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*. He shared to the full the prevailing interest in the Welsh Indians. Moreover, he himself desired to emigrate to America. His three brothers had already gone to live in the West Indies,⁵¹ and poverty alone seems to have prevented him from going as well. For, nine years later, he still wished to take advantage of the scheme of the iron master, Richard Crawshay, to settle Welsh iron workers in Pennsylvania,⁵² and even in 1805, when he was approaching his sixtieth year, he still retained a hope that he might to go Jamaica.⁵³ In 1791 he was only forty-five years of age. An expedition to look for Welsh Indians would both satisfy his romantic intellectual curiosity and be the means of enabling him to emigrate to the New World.

Iolo therefore wrote a lengthy letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* greatly supplementing the information given in previous issues by William Owen [-Pughe].⁵⁴ The two men continued their contributions in later issues,⁵⁵ and were joined by other correspondents, one of whom, it is true, threw con-

facsimile in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1926-27, and reprinted in *N.L.W. Journal*, II (1942), 144-52.

⁴⁷ William Richards to William Owen [-Pughe], May 20, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 349.

⁴⁸ Same to same, May 27, 1791, *ibid.*, folio 353, quoting letter of Nov. 26, 1790, from Dr. Samuel Jones.

⁴⁹ Richards, *Welsh Nonconformists' Memorial*, p. 313, and Edward Williams to William Owen [-Pughe], Dec. 6, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 37.

⁵⁰ Richards, *loc. cit.*

⁵¹ Edward Williams to William Owen [-Pughe], Feb. 15, 1805, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 123.

⁵² Same to same, June 17, 1800, N.L.W., MS. 13222 C, folios 145-47.

⁵³ Same to same, Feb. 15, 1805, as above.

⁵⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1791, p. 612.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, September, 1791, pp. 795-96.

siderable doubt on the reliability of Bowles's evidence.⁵⁶ Undaunted by this, the two collaborators sought out other Americans in London to obtain their opinions. They waited, for example, on William Pritchard, a Philadelphia printer and bookseller who was then in London, taking with them a copy of Dr. John Williams' book.⁵⁷ Indeed, so extensive was the new information that they gleaned in London, and also from Wales and America, that Dr. Williams determined to bring out a supplement to his book, which appeared early in the following year under the title of *Further Observations on the Discovery of America*,⁵⁸ while Iolo, who had supplied much of this information,⁵⁹ prepared in manuscript a lengthy summary of the evidence.⁶⁰

William Owen [-Pughe] reported to Paul Panton that Iolo was determined to go in search of the Indians, despite his sickly constitution, and even if he should meet with no support,⁶¹ and the Anglesey squire responded with the promise of a five guinea subscription,⁶² while he later agreed that Iolo's summary of the evidence set the matter beyond all doubt.⁶³ Thomas Pennant, Esquire, was somewhat more reluctant. He pleaded advancing years and the pressure of other engagements,⁶⁴ but soon relented to the extent of saying that he would not be behind in "any rational undertaking."⁶⁵

It seems beyond doubt that Iolo at this time was genuine in his intention to go to America, and he set about elaborating his plans. He proposed for the time being to leave his family at home until he should be settled in the New World,⁶⁶ presumably after the completion of his search for the Welsh Indians. To do this he proposed to sail for Philadelphia about the following August

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, August, 1791, p. 693; September, 1791, p. 800.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, September, 1791, p. 796; also N.L.W., MS. 13104 B, folio 45 (Iolo's own summary of the evidence concerning Madoc), and Edward Williams to William Pritchard, Aug. 15, 1792, in Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Seccion, Papelas de Cuba, reprinted in A. P. Nasatir, "John Evans, Explorer and Surveyor," *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV (January, 1931), 432, document 1. (Professor Nasatir discovered twenty-eight letters relating to Evans in Seville and the Bancroft Library of the University of California. He has printed them in *Missouri Historical Review*, XXV, 219-38, 432-60, 585-608. Reference to this collection is made henceforth as: Nasatir, with number of document). Iolo, no doubt, used his interview for another purpose, for William Pritchard became the American agent for his *Poems, Lyric and Pastoral*.

⁵⁸ John Williams, *Farther Observations on the Discovery of America by Prince Madog ab Owen Gwynedd about the Year 1170* (London, 1792).

⁵⁹ Edward Williams to Dr. John Williams, Dec. 23, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 13224 B, folio 3.

⁶⁰ "Madawgwys; Some account of an Ancient Welsh Colony in America," N.L.W., MS. 13104 B, as above.

⁶¹ William Owen [-Pughe] to Paul Panton, Sept. 6, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 9072, folio 255.

⁶² Paul Panton to William Owen [-Pughe], Sept. 20, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 13222 C, folio 273.

⁶³ Same to same, Feb. 7, 1792, *ibid.*, folio 285.

⁶⁴ Thomas Pennant to William Owen [-Pughe], Apr. 11, [1791], N.L.W., MS. 13222 C, folio 249.

⁶⁵ Same to same, July 2, 1791, *ibid.*, folio 263.

⁶⁶ Edward Williams to Dr. John Williams, Jan. 1, 1792, N.L.W., MS. 13224 B, folio 7. He hoped to supply the furrier, Owen Jones, with skins at a cheaper rate than he was getting them at the time!

(1792), then to strike inland along a good road for what he calculated to be 237 miles till he reached the Ohio, down which river he would descend for about 600 miles without needing the help of oar or sail.⁶⁷

Active measures were now being taken to raise funds. It was believed that some financial help would come from the Welsh in America.⁶⁸ Iolo, himself, appeared before the Royal Society to interest its members in the project,⁶⁹ while William Owen [-Pughe] sought the assistance of the African Association, as a body which had similar objects in view.⁷⁰ But more important was the calling of a meeting of supporters at the Prince of Wales Coffee House in Conduit Street for April 22, 1792, in order to launch an appeal for a subscription.⁷¹ The gentlemen who attended decided to request Thomas Pennant to act as director, and he seems to have consented,⁷² while a Bond Street firm of bankers who had Welsh connections, Sir H. Mackworth and Company, were to receive the money, which was to be held under Thomas Pennant's control. Moreover the advice of a St. Louis merchant, a Frenchman who was designated only as Mr. G. (would he perhaps be Jacques Clamorgan, of whom we shall hear more later), was to be taken, and arrangements made for him to provide a letter of credit at St. Louis to the persons who were to undertake the expedition. He also promised to introduce them to the commanding officer at St. Louis as men who had come to settle there and trade with the Indians. It would appear that he did not think it wise to reveal their true purpose. He would assist them in equipping a boat and furnishing articles necessary for the trip up the Missouri. Thus by trading with the Indian tribes they would eventually reach the Padoucas.⁷³

For additional financial security, William Owen [-Pughe] proposed the establishment of a "Madogeion Society" with a small quarterly subscription, meeting every three months, and having a committee of five which should meet monthly,⁷⁴ but we have no knowledge of any of these meetings nor of the financial arrangements which they made. Also there seemed to be some

⁶⁷ Thomas Jones (Bardd Cloff, secretary of Gwyneddigion) to anon., Mar. 9, 1792, printed in Thomas Shankland, "Hanes Dechreuad yr Orsedd," *Y Llenor*, III (1924), 99. (MS. then in the possession of Thomas Shankland); Owen Jones to Walter Davies, Mar. 12, 1792, printed in *N. L. W. Journal*, II (1941), 63.

⁶⁸ Dr. John Williams, *Further Observations*, p. 43, quoting a letter from Dr. William Richards of Lynn who had received letters to this effect from America.

⁶⁹ Owen Jones to Walter Davies, Mar. 12, 1792, as above.

⁷⁰ Draft letter, undated, in the handwriting of William Owen [-Pughe] to African Association, N.L.W., MS. 13223 C, folio 629.

⁷¹ "Subscription for exploring the country of the Welsh Padoucas," MS. in handwriting of William Owen [-Pughe], N.L.W., MS. 13223 C, folio 23.

⁷² William Owen [-Pughe] to Paul Pantton, May 10, 1792, N.L.W., MS. 9072 E, folio 260.

⁷³ Draft in William Owen [-Pughe]'s handwriting, N.L.W., MS. 13223 C, folio 23, as above.

⁷⁴ Draft in William Owen [-Pughe]'s handwriting, N.L.W., MS. 13224 B, folio 261. This is undated, but references to Dr. Williams' two volumes place it not earlier than 1792.

division of opinion about how the undertaking should be financed, for certain influential supporters thought they could prevail upon the prime minister, William Pitt, to assist it with government money.⁷⁵ This prospect naturally caused the plan to be suspended for a time,⁷⁶ though nothing came of it. But Mr. G's advice had introduced some actuality into the discussions. It was, for example, obvious that one man alone could not visit the Indians, and in May, 1792, William Owen [-Pughe] mentions for the first time that Iolo would be accompanied by a "young man from Caernarvonshire." He adds that both were determined to set off before the end of the year, whether they received any assistance or not.⁷⁷ John Evans had therefore entered upon the scene.

The existence of Welsh Indians was being discussed in Wales as well as among London Welshmen. Dafydd Ddu Eryri, as we have seen, was somewhat skeptical; he was well acquainted with Morgan Jones's narrative, but despite the evidence of "General" Bowles and others he failed to see how the Indians had succeeded in retaining their language.⁷⁸ Yet he relented to the extent of composing a prayer in verse for the spread of the Gospel among them.⁷⁹ But another rural bard accepted the evidence with the greatest enthusiasm. This was William Jones of Llangadfan, one of the few disciples of Voltaire in Wales. He had suffered much for his opinions and had become a champion of the peasants of Wales against the oppression of the landowners. He was now in his sixties, but emigration to America obsessed his mind, and he elaborated schemes for transporting thither large groups of his fellow countrymen, a matter on which he was later to solicit the support both of Sir William Pulteney, a member of Parliament for Shrewsbury, and of Thomas Pinckney, the new United States minister to Great Britain.⁸⁰ To William Jones, the existence of Welsh Indians opened great possibilities. He might settle his colonists near them, for the Welsh would naturally have great advantages in trading with a tribe who spoke the same language. The mysterious "book" also intrigued him; might this not comprise "histories penned in America"? If this were so they would, indeed, as he stated, be

⁷⁵ William Owen [-Pughe] to Paul Panton, May 10, 1792, as above.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ David Thomas to William Owen [-Pughe], Mar. 28, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 325, as above.

⁷⁹ "Awdl ar Wirionedd," *Cylchgrawn Cynmraeg*, I (1793), 54; William Williams, *Hynafiaethau a Thraddodiadau Plwyf Llanberis a'r Amgylchoedd* (Llanberis, 1892), p. 85, states that the three bards, Bardd Du Eryri (Abram Williams), Dafydd Ddu, and Gutyn Peris, intended to go to America in search of the Welsh Indians, but the last two withdrew when their companion emigrated in 1793.

⁸⁰ W.D. [Walter Davies, Gwallter Mechain], "A Sketch of the Life of William Jones," *Cambrian Register*, II (1796), 237-51. The priestly biographer was able to record a deathbed repentance and to draw the appropriate moral.

"a valuable acquisition." He therefore distributed at a meeting called at Llanrwst on July 13, 1791, copies of an address "To all Indigenous Cambro-Britons," reciting the evidence for the existence of the Welsh tribe and urging that a qualified person be sent out to investigate.⁸¹ Despite his age he let it be known that he was prepared to go himself.⁸² Could some of the Welsh Indians be induced to visit Wales, they would, he felt sure, receive a great welcome.⁸³

It is therefore fairly certain that John Evans knew of the Welsh Indians before leaving Wales, for Dafydd Ddu was a native of his village, and Llanrwst is no great distance from Waunfawr. Certainly Evans made contact with those who were interested in the venture as early as May, 1792,⁸⁴ and his name came to be associated with that of Iolo. Soon Dafydd Ddu was writing from the mansion of his patron, Paul Panton, at Plas Gwyn to ask when the two proposed to set out.⁸⁵ But Iolo had already begun to have doubts in the matter. The intrepid Voltairean, William Jones, stated bluntly that Iolo had both become afraid of the journey and was unprepared to undertake the expense.⁸⁶ Possibly the subscription had not come up to expectation, and this would be a serious matter for a man of forty-six with family responsibilities. It was otherwise with a youth, twenty-two years of age, who was, moreover, impetuous and self-confident to a fault. Iolo thereupon silently disappears from the correspondence, though John Evans, writing later from Baltimore, still hoped that he might have Iolo's company, "if it were convenient to him."⁸⁷

Iolo did, however, supply John Evans with a letter of introduction to the Philadelphia bookseller, William Pritchard, whom he had seen in London. He describes Evans as being of a very respectable family and of uncommonly good morals and conduct. The government, he said, had not been made

⁸¹ "To all Indigenous Cambro-Britons," N.L.W., MS. 13221, folios 341-42 and 339-40 (in this sequence).

⁸² William Jones to William Owen [-Pughe], Easter Monday, 1791, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 415; same to same, Aug. 7, 1791, *ibid.*, folio 343.

⁸³ Same to same, July 15, 1792, *ibid.*, folio 311.

⁸⁴ William Owen [-Pughe] to Paul Panton, May 10, 1792, N.L.W., MS. 9072 E, folio 260, as above.

⁸⁵ David Thomas to William Owen [-Pughe], July 29, 1792, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 319.

⁸⁶ William Jones to William Owen [-Pughe], July 15, 1792, N.L.W., MS. 13221 E, folio 311, as above. William Jones states in this letter that "a youth from among my neighbours is now in Liverpool awaiting a boat for Philadelphia." This cannot very well be John Evans, who would scarcely be called a "neighbor" of William Jones's (although it might be noted that Evan Evans spent the last year of his life in Llanidloes in an attempt to recover his health [Hobley, p. 30], and the family may have had associations with that neighborhood); neither does the date agree with the other information available.

⁸⁷ John Evans to "Dear Friend," Nov. 22, 1792. Copy (in translation) in N.L.W., MS. 13222 C, folio 315.

acquainted with this affair, but he and others hoped to wait on the United States minister, Thomas Pinckney, as soon as possible, to solicit American financial support to enable them to go to America. He does not make it clear whether the party would search for Welsh Indians or merely settle down in the new country, but he rightly states that he and his associates had been regarded as "*rebelliously* partial to the Americans," and adds that in America they "intended to end their days." He asks Pritchard for assistance to John Evans in his endeavors and for a letter of introduction for Evans to Dr. Samuel Jones of Philadelphia. It would appear, however, that Iolo's letter was never delivered to Pritchard, for it eventually found its way, with others of Evans' papers, into the Spanish archives of the Indies at Seville.⁸⁸

Among other letters of commendation carried by Evans was one to the Reverend Lewis Richards of Baltimore from the highest Methodist authority of all in Wales, the Reverend Thomas Charles of Bala, who took the opportunity to send to his old friend a pamphlet giving "a pleasing and refreshing account" of the Methodist revival in Wales.⁸⁹ If it can be assumed that Thomas Charles gave Evans this letter in London, it can be safely said that Evans was still there on July 28, 1792, the date when Thomas Charles reached the capital.⁹⁰ It was on August 15 that Iolo wrote his letter to the Philadelphia bookseller, and it was not until the end of September that John Evans sailed for America.⁹¹ Which port he sailed from is not known, though it was probably Liverpool; what is certain is that on October 10 he reached Baltimore.⁹²

Almost immediately he set out on foot to visit Dr. Samuel Jones, the pastor for fifty-one years of the Baptist church of Lower Dublin or Pennepek, some twelve miles beyond Philadelphia. It was a sufficiently long walk there and back, but in John Evans' letter to his brother it assumed the extensive proportions of three hundred miles.⁹³ Dr. Jones, also, who was a man of great influence in the religious life of America (he was one of the founders of Rhode Island College, now Brown University), acquired in Evans' letters the additional dignity of senator. Equally revealing are the accounts given by the

⁸⁸ Edward Williams to William Pritchard, Aug. 15, 1792, as above.

⁸⁹ Lewis Richards to Thomas Charles, May 9, 1793, a reply to Charles' letter, printed in D. E. Jenkins, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles, B.A., of Bala* (Denbigh, 1908), II, 129-31.

⁹⁰ Jenkins, II, 128.

⁹¹ *Cylchgrawn Cymmraeg*, II (May, 1793), 104.

⁹² Ieuan ab Ivan (John Evans) to "dear friend," from Baltimore, November 22, 1792, in translation in N.L.W., MS. 13222 C, folio 315, as above. The date, December 10, given in Ieuan ab Ivan (John Evans) to Thomas Evans, December 26, 1792, printed in *Cylchgrawn Cymmraeg*, II (May, 1793), 114-16 must be an error in transcription. Dr. Samuel Jones to Thomas Evans, May 8, 1793, printed in *Cylchgrawn Cymmraeg*, III (August, 1793), 150, gives "Hydref diweddaf" as the date of his arrival. This could be either "last autumn" or "last October," but obviously would be inappropriate for December.

⁹³ John Evans to Thomas Evans, Dec. 26, 1792, as above.

two men of their interview, for while Dr. Samuel Jones reported to Evans' brother that he had strongly advised him not to proceed, at least until he had secured companions, Evans' own version is that Dr. Jones had offered to obtain for him a force of twenty armed men.⁹⁴ His letters, indeed, are both boastful and exalted. He dwells on his intrepidity and on the mission that "God Almighty had laid on his conscience." He would not fail; it would be either the Madogion or death. Meanwhile, he took advantage of his journey to Philadelphia to visit the old Welsh settlements in the neighborhood of that city, in the Welsh Tract and the Great Valley. He was warmly welcomed by the inhabitants, and gathered that some fifty years previously they had raised a fund to send men in search of the Welsh Indians, but that their emissaries had proved unsatisfactory and had withdrawn.⁹⁵

Back in Baltimore he became a clerk in the countinghouse of two merchants, with whom he spent the winter. According to his report they thought so highly of him that they tried to dissuade him from going on with his venture and even offered him facilities to start business on his own account.⁹⁶ Apparently he also practiced there the art of "curing diseases"; "for thou must understand that I prosper in this art in America," so he informed a correspondent in the home country.⁹⁷ It was not only the two merchants who urged him to stay in Baltimore but all his friends and well-wishers there, as the Reverend Lewis Richards reported to the Reverend Thomas Charles.⁹⁸ But he was determined to proceed.

This being so, he had to prepare his plans. Iolo, it will be remembered, had intended to make for St. Louis, but for a time John Evans favored an alternative route through Canada. He hoped to reach Quebec in April and then go on to Montreal, arriving at Detroit in May. There he might stay for some time "curing diseases," and presumably arranging for the rest of his journey, for he wrote to ask for letters of introduction to the "Solicitor-General" at Quebec, and to the lieutenant governor of Upper Canada.⁹⁹ Had he taken this route he would have probably thrown in his lot with the fur traders, either of the North West Company or of the Hudson's Bay Company, and would have remained on American or British soil throughout most of his journey. But within a few weeks he had made the fateful deci-

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, and Samuel Jones to Thomas Evans, May 8, 1793, as above.

⁹⁵ John Evans to "dear friend," Nov. 22, 1792, as above; John Evans to Thomas Evans, Dec. 26, 1792, as above.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Lewis Richards to Thomas Charles, May 9, 1793, as above.

⁹⁹ John Evans to "dear friend," Nov. 22, 1792, as above, and Lewis Richards to Thomas Charles, May 9, 1793, as above.

sion to revert to the earlier plan,¹⁰⁰ and many a time he must have regretted it during those long months in a Spanish prison in St. Louis.

Some time in February, 1793, he left Baltimore for Philadelphia for the second time,¹⁰¹ and consulted Dr. Samuel Jones who again tried to dissuade him but without success. He then made his final plans. According to David Jones, minister of the Baptist church at Great Valley, who had himself taken part in Indian campaigns, he obtained letters of recommendation from George Washington, but David Jones, like his other well-wishers, had great fears that he would never return, "as he has to travel through Spanish dominions and the Indians very savage."¹⁰² Early in March he left Philadelphia.¹⁰³ His route then took him a fortnight's journey across the Susquehanna River through the Allegheny Mountains to Fort Cumberland and on to Fort Pitt (modern Pittsburgh) on the banks of the Ohio. There he would not have much difficulty in joining a river boat which would take him down to the junction of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and then up that river to its junction with the Missouri at the town of St. Louis. The first part of his journey would then have been completed.

[Part II will appear in the April issue.]

¹⁰⁰ John Evans to Thomas Evans, Dec. 26, 1792, as above (postscript).

¹⁰¹ Lewis Richards to Thomas Charles, May 9, 1793, as above.

¹⁰² Diary of David Jones, quoted *Western Mail*, Oct. 4, 1944; the Reverend George Burder in a letter dated Oct. 25, 1796, to the *Evangelical Magazine* (1796), pp. 546-48, also states that he had obtained recommendations from the President of the United States.

¹⁰³ Samuel Jones to Thomas Evans, May 8, 1793, as above.

The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis

JOSEPH DORFMAN*

IN recent years American historians have shown great interest in the labor and radical literature of the Jacksonian period. This literature is taken to manifest the beginnings of a substantial labor movement in the United States. In particular it is the thesis of those historians that a substantial movement of eastern wage earners, led and inspired by the radical anticapitalistic elements among Jackson's supporters, became a significant part of the great Jacksonian revolution. The evidence for this thesis, which might be called the Jackson wage-earner thesis, is, I think, worth further consideration. A number of figures and movements have been taken to represent an advanced radicalism, closely kindred to modern radicalism. The problem, however, is not only ideological; it is semantic and psychological. The evidence has frequently rested on generous and broad assertions in editorials, pamphlets, manifestos, petitions, and party programs. Are these so-called radical leaders truly radical, and in what sense? Are the many so-called "working men's" movements and parties of the period truly movements of wage earners and are they truly "anticapitalistic"? Can we take at face value not only the assertions but also the very terminology of the time?

The Jackson wage-earner thesis has recently been presented in its most explicit and cogent form by Arthur Meier Schlesinger, jr., and it is convenient therefore to center the discussion on a few representative figures and movements which have been cited in his *Age of Jackson*.

An early figure is Langton Byllesby. Byllesby has been described as an "Owenite pamphleteer" and his book *Observations on the Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth* (1826) as an "attempt to restate Owenism without the anti-religious bias" but public sentiment was not prepared for the book, coming as it did before the Jacksonians were conscious of their mission as champions of labor.

Now, it is as a poet that we first hear of Byllesby; indeed he had a "knack for rhyming." In 1813, while in Philadelphia, Byllesby, who dabbled in inventions throughout his life, was commissioned to prepare a poetical defense of patent rights and turned out the anonymous satire *Patent Right Oppres-*

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sion Exposed.¹ Interestingly enough, at approximately the same time that Byllesby upheld the conservative view, and in connection with the very same patent that occasioned his satire, Jefferson made his famous statement: "Inventions . . . cannot in nature, be a subject of property."²

Byllesby's essential conservatism manifested itself again when we next hear of him in 1823 as the publisher of the respectable Easton Pennsylvania newspaper, *The Spirit of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvanian*. This paper supported for governor the elderly Andrew Gregg, who called himself a democrat of the Jeffersonian school and yet had been at odds with Jefferson on such important policies as the Jay Treaty and the War of 1812. Byllesby in his own editorials and in editorials which he reprinted from other newspapers of the same faction, asserted that Gregg's opposition to Jefferson's views showed his sturdy resistance to "popular clamour," that the "violent men" of the Democratic party disliked Gregg because he defended charters against legislative interference.³

Gregg's defeat shattered Byllesby's prospects for lucrative government patronage and printing so essential to the newspapers of the time. After less than a year in the publishing business in Easton, Byllesby returned in 1824 to Philadelphia, became connected with the important stereotyping firm of Laurence, Johnson and Company, and two years later published his familiar volume, *Observations on the Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth*.⁴

On the rhetorical side, surely, the language of this book is radical. Byllesby castigated the existing order, and especially the methods of inheritance, banking, and mercantile speculation. But is it not more important to consider a man's practical proposals? And are Byllesby's practical proposals radical? He proposed associations in which the shareholders divided the profits, while the workingman would be paid at the "customary journey man's wages." But a member inventing a machine would get a "liberal reward" in "proportion to its value."⁵

Among Jacksonians proper, we are told that the wealthy Theodore Sedgwick, became a "champion of [the] laboring class" after pondering Byllesby's treatise, among others. But what is his solution? In his much lauded volume *Public and Private Economy* he advised all depressed or overworked east-

¹ Statement by Byllesby on the fly leaves of the copy of the book in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Jefferson to Isaac McPherson, Aug. 13, 1813, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Albert Ellery Bergh (Washington, 1907), XIII, 334.

³ *The Spirit of Pennsylvania*, May 23, June 13, 1823.

⁴ Ethan Allen Weaver, "Historical Sketches relating to Easton and Eastonians," no. 20, *Easton Semi-Weekly Free Press*, Apr. 24, 1896.

⁵ Byllesby, *Observations on the Sources and Effects of Unequal Wealth* (New York, 1826), pp. 97-99.

ern wage earners to stop wasting their earnings on gaudy displays and luxuries. They then could in a few years either buy public lands and "settle as farmers in the new states, or . . . undertake an independent business in the old."⁶

Again we are told that the Reverend Theophilus Fisk merged in his newspapers "his passionate anticlericalism . . . into an equally passionate anticapitalism." Now it was this so-called "anticapitalistic" editor who, in writings of the same period, held that debt is the great curse of man and that debtors are unfit to exercise the right of suffrage, but added that he meant by debtors those who went into debt beyond "all the prudent rules of business."⁷ The psychology here is much more that of the businessman than the truly radical editor and the businessman is hardly "noncapitalistic."

The case of William Leggett, the New York journalist, illustrates the same point. He is described as advancing through "sheer passion for logic, to extreme radical positions." Yet Leggett castigated a general confederation of laborers as an attempt to monopolize the "chief necessary of life," labor, thus creating "social anarchy" and "chaotic confusion," and compelling "*capital*, to pay whatever price it chooses to exact."⁸

As a final sample there is the so-called "radical" and "labor leader" of Philadelphia, Thomas Brothers. Now he in fact was an employer in the hat trade as well as a journalist. We might wonder just what sort of a labor leader he was when on being accused of exploiting his journeymen, he printed in his magazine the following defense offered by a subscriber: "Were you to give your workmen greater wages than other manufacturers do, your goods would be proportionately augmented in price, and would lay on your shelves until your customers were in a humour to take pity on your folly, and reward your stupidity by becoming purchasers."⁹ It need not be pointed out that this is a standard answer of conservative employers.

Let us now glance at some of the so-called labor movements. Beginning in the late twenties, so-called "working men's" petitions and parties arose. The use of the term "working men," or its equivalent in their titles, in great part explains why they have been accepted as the work of eastern wage earners and their sympathizers. For instance, in Philadelphia in 1829 "a large meeting of working men and others" memorialized the Pennsylvania legis-

⁶ Theodore Sedgwick, *Public and Private Economy* (New York, 1836), I, 225-26.

⁷ *Political Reformer*, Dec. 25, 1840.

⁸ Leggett, "The Way to Cheapen Flour," 1837; reprinted in *A Collection of the Political Writings of William Leggett*, ed. by Theodore Sedgwick, jr. (New York, 1840), II, 221-22.

⁹ *Radical Reformer*, July 11, 1835.

lature not to charter additional banks, which meant of course banks with the power to issue notes.¹⁰

The memorial may be divided into two parts. The labor part of the memorial is the familiar reference to the disadvantages and sufferings of the workingmen resulting from excessive issues of bank paper. But along with it is the prolonged strong argument against paper drawn from the necessities of business calculation, investment, and fulfillment of contracts. Which is the more significant?

There is reason to believe that the petition was primarily the work of two signers, Condé Raguet and William M. Gouge, both of whom have been ranked among the outstanding financial authorities of the Jacksonian labor movement.

These two learned journalists were close friends. Condé Raguet, "Esquire," was originally a merchant and later president of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. In 1820 and 1821, while a state senator, he had prepared reports for that body on the depression and on bank charters that expressed substantially the same demand for a limited number of banks as is found in the memorial. But in those reports there were very few references to "working men"; and the emphasis was most definitely on the damage to businessmen and property values.¹¹ At the very time that the "working men's" memorial was published in his magazine the *Free Trade Advocate*, Raguet declared in an essay on "The Principles of Banking" that the great sufferers from the banks of issue were the merchants who are "obliged to submit to all the evils of a contraction, consequent to an expansion, which they had no agency in producing."¹²

Perhaps most relevant are Raguet's views on matters of immediate concern to the wage earner. He declared that to reduce the working hours from twelve to ten, or to raise wages through combination or law, would contravene "the great principle of nature, called the law of competition" to the employer's ruin and labor's loss of employment.¹³ Is this what is meant by radicalism?

Gouge's ideas on labor were substantially those of Raguet. He insisted that the laws of supply and demand were all powerful, and that the claims of the honest capitalist are just as sacred as those of the honest laborer. He berated the idle and improvident for neglecting to accumulate a capital and thus

¹⁰ *Free Trade Advocate*, May 9, 16, 1829.

¹¹ *Journal of the Senate of Pennsylvania*, XXX, 221-35; XXXI, pp. 252-62.

¹² *Free Trade Advocate*, July 4, 1829.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 28, 1829; *Examiner*, Jan. 8, 1834.

make themselves independent of "others for means of both subsistence and employment."¹⁴

It is also claimed that James Ronaldson, another signer and the chairman of the meeting which drew up the memorial was a "trade union leader." Yet "James Ronaldson, Esquire" as he is described in the memorial, was a prominent stockholder in the Second Bank of the United States and a substantial employer—a wealthy, nationally known type founder.¹⁵

During the year that saw the publication of the petition of the "working men and others" in Philadelphia, there flourished briefly in New York City the famous Working Men's party. While its leadership was somewhat more humanitarian in outlook than that of the Philadelphia group, the movement had much the same business ends.

Its outstanding promoters were Thomas Skidmore and Frances Wright and their following among journalists. Skidmore listed himself as a "machinist." This by no means meant that he was a journeyman. He spent much time in lecturing, carrying on political campaigns, and in journalism. His formal solution for the ills of the community as expressed in the book he published that year, *The Rights of Man to Property!* called for the division of inheritance among all the children of the community when they reached maturity. But this radical proposal was tempered somewhat by the stipulation that in launching the plan the government was to turn over to private enterprise its income-bearing assets. Thus New York was to divest itself of the lands containing the valuable salt springs, the lands pledged by the Constitution for the school fund, and those belonging to the Indians. Skidmore's proposal for a protective tariff was hardly Jacksonian, let alone radical.

The wealthy Frances Wright has been described as an Owenite, but her only resemblance to Owen, aside from her anticlericalism, was the proposal for free education and free feeding and housing of all children. Educating the children of both the rich and the poor together would promote common republican ideals. Training was to be along industrial lines. But on most social issues, she followed Malthus. She wished to inculcate forethought, especially "in young persons who before they assumed the responsibility of parents would estimate their fitness to meet it."¹⁶

The party platform spoke glowingly of Wright's school proposal and

¹⁴ William M. Gouge, *A Short History of Paper Money and Banking* (Philadelphia, 1833), pp. 91, 93.

¹⁵ *Boston Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, Sept. 10, 1828; *Philadelphia Democratic Press*, Oct. 12, 1829; Ronaldson's estate was given as \$200,000 in *Memoirs and Autobiography of Some of the Wealthy Citizens of Philadelphia, By a Merchant of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1846).

¹⁶ Frances Wright, *Course of Popular Lectures* (New York, 1830), p. 115.

Skidmore's scheme to abolish inheritance. However, the platform stated that these ideals could not be achieved without such a revolution "as shall leave . . . no trace of that government which has denied to every human being" these rights. Until then the party would center its attention on those evils which aggravate the workingmen's calamities.¹⁷

So far so good, but what were these evils? The primary immediate evil, the party felt, was neither the hours, wages, nor conditions of labor but the special bugaboo of the business community, excessive bank notes. The legislative record of Ebenezer Ford, the one successful candidate for the Assembly, indicates the business attitude of the so-called "working men's" memorial of Philadelphia. He was willing to renew four New York City banking charters and to grant charters for insurance, roads, lighting, and other companies.¹⁸

Proponents of the Jackson wage-earner thesis point to the party's demands for the abolition of imprisonment for debt. But imprisonment for debt, let it be said once and for all, was never the exclusive interest of the proletariat. Given the exigencies of business, it was also the concern of the little businessman, and not infrequently the larger businessman, to ease this evil. Indeed, in the very year of the rise of the Working Men's party, the abolition of imprisonment for debt was demanded by a new society in Boston organized by leading business and political figures. The organization was called a Society for the Promotion of the Rights and Interests of Bona Fide Creditors and for the Benefit and Relief of Honest Debtors. The president was none other than Daniel Webster, whom proponents of the Jackson wage-earner thesis have described as an arch conservative. The demand was coupled with suggestions for revising the state's insolvency law in the name of the inalienable rights of man and the requirements of expanding business enterprise.¹⁹

The Loco-Foco party of 1836 provides another test of the thesis under discussion. This famous party is commonly credited with invigorating the labor movement in New York. The mayoralty candidate on its first independent ticket was a printer and United States customs inspector, Colonel Alexander Ming, jr. This party, too, was primarily concerned with financial business issues rather than wage earners' problems.

Take the views of Colonel Samuel Young, whom the Loco-Foco leaders

¹⁷ George Henry Evans, "History of the Origin and Progress of the Working Men's Party in New York," no. 3, *The Radical* (February, 1843), II, 36.

¹⁸ *Journal of the New York State Assembly*, 1830, pp. 147, 155-57.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Citizens of Boston Favorable to a Revision of the Laws in Relation to Debtor and Creditor* (Boston, 1829).

wanted to run for governor. This "stalwart and aggressive radical" was not only an outstanding Democratic party leader but an entrepreneur of railroads and banks.²⁰ He demanded that the state repeal the laws limiting the rate of interest, and restricting the functions of deposit and discount to chartered groups. Such changes, he said, would in a "great measure, if not entirely, prevent those contractions and expansions—those sudden fluctuations in prices and that demoralizing mania for speculation with which the community has been scourged."²¹ And here it might be pointed out that an opposition to excessive speculation is not necessarily radicalism; it characterized and still characterizes the more sober class of capitalists.

Young's views on labor may be gathered from his lecture on the science of political economy before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Union College, which honored him with two LL.D.'s. He argued that the science of political economy should be promoted widely because "it is calculated to repress the querulous propensity of man and to make him better satisfied with his condition. It shews . . . the poor their dependence on the rich." He denounced public poor relief along with government construction of roads and canals, on the Malthusian ground that this would hurry the country to the "unavoidable calamities which a dense population is destined to meet."²² Although he used these words ten years before the Loco-Foco movement, we have no evidence that he subsequently held other views on these matters.

Another so-called labor movement appeared in 1831. It was called the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Working Men. This movement has been described as the outgrowth of the spontaneous protest of small mechanics and workers of eastern New England against their insecure lot and dreary destiny. Conspicuous in its activities were journalists and well-to-do politicians. The one economic issue on which the Association seems to have been consistent and clear was free trade.

The social attitude of this association is revealed in a report addressed to New Haven "working men" by the two delegates to the 1833 convention. The first signature was that of Noyes Darling, the mayor of New Haven. He long held lucrative public offices, and frequently more than one at a time.²³ The report declared that "unhappy experience as well as a sense of

²⁰ F. Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party* (New York, 1842), p. 64.

²¹ "Report of Select Committee in Relation to the Sale of . . . [Young's] Stock in the Saratoga County Bank," *Documents of the Senate of the State of New York*, 60th session, no. 66 (1837); *Report of the Committee on the Affairs of the Saratoga and Schenectady Rail-Road* (New York, 1833), p. 14.

²² Samuel Young, *A Discourse . . . before the New York Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa* (Ballston Spa, 1826), pp. 54-55, 65, appendix, p. xiii.

²³ *Yale Biographies and Annals, 1792-1805*, ed. by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, 5th series

duty and of religious obligation, will teach them [the laboring classes] to avoid alike, the desperate infidelity, and the levelling politics of some modern reformers" such as "Fanny Wright, and her followers."²⁴

Another influential member was the learned wealthy Boston entrepreneur, William Foster, who was also a prominent figure in the Democratic party. Foster's primary business activity, as his designation of "wharfinger" in the Boston directories indicated, was managing and developing with his brothers, the family's valuable Boston wharfage properties. That the report of the banking committee of the association of 1833, emphasized free trade is not surprising since Foster, a "wharfinger," wrote the report.²⁵

It has been contended that Foster as a true Jacksonian "labor leader" opposed the recharter of the Second Bank of the United States, because of his hatred of monopoly that flowed from the pursuit of his intellectually held Jacksonian free trade principles. Ironically enough Foster was associated with the very scheme which has been charged with being the work of mercenary, monopolistic-minded, fair-weather Jacksonians rather than true radicals. Foster's name is attached to the notorious memorial to Congress by a group of wealthy Bostonians requesting it not to recharter the Bank. They wanted, instead, a charter for a new and larger Bank of the United States—a \$50,000,000 institution in place of the \$35,000,000 "octopus."²⁶ It is not surprising therefore, that in a speech in 1834, defending Jackson's anti-Bank policy, Foster declared that it was nonsense to charge him and his group with "exciting the evil passions of the poor against the rich. . . . All my connections are rich; I am not poor myself."²⁷

Allied with Foster in this so-called "labor movement" was the prominent Massachusetts lawyer and politician, long in Congress, Samuel Clesson Allen. It has been stated that up to the time of his leaving Congress in 1829, he was a conservative. But on his return to his little rural community in western Massachusetts, Allen had time to reflect on the plight of the workingman and became a "champion of [the] laboring class." The first important evidence of this transformation is supposed to be an address to a local agricultural society in 1830. That address to be sure is full of laments on the terrible plight of the European worker and the dreary destiny of the American

(New York, 1911), p. 435; *Register of All Officers and Agents . . . in the Service of the United States* (1837), p. 40.

²⁴ New Haven *Columbian Weekly Register*, Nov. 2, 1833.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 28, 1833; *Proceedings of Working-Men's Convention* (1833), pp. 14–20, 24.

²⁶ "Memorial of David Henshaw, and Others," *Senate Documents*, 22 Congress, 1st session, no. 37, p. 4.

²⁷ "The Hon. Mr. Foster's Remarks . . . at the Anti-Bank Meeting," reprinted from the *Boston Post* in the *Columbian Weekly Register*, May 3, 1834.

workingman. But Allen, who was still a member of the conservative National Republican party, was using the dismal picture simply to point out the need for retaining the protective tariff, and the protective tariff was certainly an important plank in the National Republican platform.²⁸

Then in 1833 Allen publicly announced that he approved Jackson's policies towards the Bank of the United States and hoped that for once the productive classes would be dominant in the government. The New England Association applauded his sentiments, and he turned up as the candidate for governor of its political offshoot, the Working Men's party. Where Allen had previously been a protectionist "working man" he now became a free trade "working man." He ran on a platform which denounced factories as a threat to health and morals.²⁹ But this is familiar free trade rhetoric in America, a rhetoric which Foster used constantly.

Such were some of the typical radical leaders and organizations of the Jacksonian period. The confusions of the wage-earner interpretation of their radicalism are manifold. The first is a confusion of monetary reform with labor radicalism. The Jacksonians were indeed for monetary reform. But the purpose of the monetary reform was not to help labor—they generally neglected direct labor reforms—but to create better business conditions and remove panics.

This was perhaps best indicated by that "radical" Jacksonian and eminent financier, Churchill C. Cambreleng. He exclaimed: "Labor solicits no privileges—it asks only for a sound currency" which by eliminating those catastrophic crises or "explosions" occurring every ten years, will "secure to trade steady profits, and for itself steady employment."³⁰

The confusion of monetary reform with labor radicalism might perhaps have been avoided, had there been awareness of the fact that the hard-money Jacksonians were followers not of Adam Smith but of that critic of the Bank of England and all private banks of issue, David Ricardo; and no one as yet has had the hardihood to claim that Ricardo was a radical laborite.

Another difficulty arises from the fact that many of the writers never intended that their broad, scorching indictments of existing institutions should be taken as principles for concrete action beyond specific business demands.

²⁸ Samuel C. Allen, *An Address . . . before the Hampshire, Franklin, & Hampden Agricultural Society* (Northampton, 1830), pp. 17-18; *Boston Courier*, Apr. 2, 1831. Allen in 1831 was selected as one of the Massachusetts delegates to attend the national protectionist convention in New York (*Boston Courier*, Oct. 14, 1831).

²⁹ *New England Artisan*, Oct. 25, 1834.

³⁰ S. Crosswell and R. Sutton, *Debates and Proceedings in the New York State Convention for the Revision of the Constitution* (Albany, 1846), p. 760.

These propositions, said the *Democratic Review*, in 1839, are to be taken "simply as abstract truths and without reference to any practical applications." It denounced those who imputed to it "hostile views towards any existing chartered institutions or 'vested rights.'" ³¹ All that it wanted, it said, was to eliminate the monopoly feature of the specially privileged character of corporations through the passage of a general incorporation act.

What seems finally to have led students astray is the failure, as mentioned before, to appreciate the rather broad meaning of the term "working men." One of the leading journalists and promoters of workingmen's movements remarked: The term "working men" is to be understood as "including not merely the manual laborer, but every man who earns his bread by useful exertion, whether mental or physical." ³² Just who was included in the category was never quite clear either in the pronouncements or meetings. Only your political opponents and the terrible aristocrats and the lazy idlers were clearly not honest "working men."

But in this very broad conception of "working men" lies a good clue to the growth of American democracy and the so-called labor movement; namely, that it was antiaristocratic rather than anticapitalistic. That is why it often combined both humanitarian and business elements; the humanitarian element contributed a weak impress of reform, but it was decidedly thrown into the shade by the business drive. Certainly it will not do to read into the history of American radicalism, at least of the Jacksonian period, the later conception of a class conflict between great capitalists on the one side, and a mass of propertyless wage earners on the other. The movement is a liberal one in the sense that it sought to eliminate or hedge law-created privileges. And it was anticapitalist only in the sense that it opposed the special advantages and sudden wealth that a few capitalists, and even down-at-the-heel adventurers or bluebloods, could secure by favoritism, the manipulation of political power, intrigue, or ingratiation with the powers that be.

After all, the age of Jackson was an age of expansion, a great age of business enterprise. And the body of capitalists, enterprisers, and ambitious workingmen were not prepared to abandon the race to the type of political capitalists just described.

But Jackson, no more than Jefferson, thought of himself as the champion especially of the wage earner. Both considered themselves champions of all the so-called "industrious," of the farmers, mechanics, merchants, and other

³¹ *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, V (January, 1839), 98.

³² Evans, "History of the Origin and Progress of the Working Men's Party in New York," no. 1, in *The Radical*, II (January, 1842), 1.

"working men," against the opulent holders or recipients of government favors or privileges.

Of all the groups that Jefferson and Jackson included in the category of "working men," it would seem that the wage earners were least in their mind, for to their way of thinking, a land of wage earners, that is a great propertyless class, would spell the doom of democracy as they conceived it. They, like the rest of their generation, were the heirs of the great tradition that a man without property was the *de facto* slave of the possessors of property. He only was free who possessed property. But Jackson and Jefferson differed from the aristocratic-minded in holding that, if government power were restricted, any man of industry and frugality or at least a good many men could acquire some property. Government—or rather too much of it—was the great sinner, the source of aristocracy and monopoly. These two, by the way, aristocracy and monopoly—privilege and charter—were almost interchangeable in the eyes of the radicals. The development of democracy was toward increasingly restricting the power of such a government. As Cambreleng put it in 1846, the "progress of reform may eventually leave trade . . . entirely free from all government regulation."³³

The radicalism of our own time is, on the other hand, associated with a permanent and large wage-earning class. And it resorts, under entirely new economic and political conditions, to a broadening rather than a narrowing of the functions of government.

On the level, therefore, at which the discussion has been carried on, that is, on the level of economic policy, and the conception of the economic system and social organization, there is no significant connection between the two radicalisms. Indeed there are on some very important points, the most clear-cut contradictions; and such differences between periods and movements are, of course, the special concern of the historical writer.

Is there then no connection, no affinity, between these two great historic movements? There is a cultural and psychological bond. The Jacksonian movement cherished, however fitfully, a sense of protest against privilege and invidiousness. It is this sense that associates it with that fragile but precious thread in liberalism, in the broadest meaning of that term—the dignity of man.

³³ Croswell and Sutton, p. 758.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Recent United States and British Government Publication on the London Naval Conference of 1930¹

CONYERS READ*

WITHIN the past three years the United States Department of State has published documents from its archives throwing fresh light upon the course of the London Naval Conference.² Within the past two years the British For-

*The author is professor of history in the University of Pennsylvania.

¹ Printed materials on the subject which appeared during and immediately after the conference are to be found in *Annotated Bibliography on Disarmaments*, published by League of Nations (Geneva, 1931). These include the official record of the conference issued by the British government (London Naval Conference, 1930 *Documents*, London, 1930) and the United States government (London Naval Conference 1930, *Proceedings*) together with two white papers, 1930 Cmd. 3485 and Cmd. 3547, and the *Hearings* before the U.S. Senate Committees on Foreign Affairs and on Naval Affairs, London Naval Treaty of 1930 (Washington, 1930), which give a good idea of the American point of view. These hearings were for the most part cross-examinations of prominent naval personnel, particularly those who were members of the general board of the U.S. Navy and those who went as naval advisers to the London conference. They contain a good deal of information about the so-called yardstick and the official position of the general board on the treaty—with a reprint of their memorandum of Sept. 11, 1929. (Committee on Naval Affairs, *Hearings*, pp. 502 ff.). They reveal a considerable amount of difference of opinion among high ranking naval officers regarding the relative merits of the 6" and the 8" gun cruisers. No official publications on the conference appear to have issued from the Japanese or the French or the Italian governments. Of secondary accounts the most important perhaps are Arnold Toynbee's in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Survey of International Affairs*, 1929, 1930, and John Wheeler-Bennett, *Disarmament and Security since Locarno 1925-31* (London, 1932). Chaput's more recent book, *Disarmament in British Foreign Policy* (London, 1935) adds little or nothing, though it contains a useful bibliography. Walter Lippmann's article, "The London Naval Conference," which appeared just after the treaty was signed, in *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1930, is a clear, concise and in the main an accurate statement of the issues and the outcome. The chapter on the subject in *American Foreign Relations*, ed. by Council on Foreign Relations (1931), pp. 319-415, is less helpful. Other pertinent articles in French, Italian, and English reviews are listed in the League of Nations *Bibliography*, noted above. Charles G. Dawes, *Journal as Ambassador to Great Britain* (New York, 1939), nearly half of which is devoted to the negotiations in London, contributes a good deal of local color, and prints a number of documents but adds little to what is known from other sources. What is definitely a desideratum is a careful review of public opinion towards the treaty, particularly in England, France, and the United States as recorded in the newspaper press. William S. Myers, *The Foreign Policy of Herbert Hoover, 1929-33* (New York, 1940) contains some material from Mr. Hoover's unpublished papers. There is an elaborate account of the conference in Drew Pearson and Constantine Brown, *The American Diplomatic Game* (New York, 1933), pp. 65-171. It is entirely undocumented and much of it is demonstrably at variance with the known facts, but it is very suggestive and does make clear that newspaper men, particularly E. P. Bell and P. S. Mowrer of the Chicago *Daily News* played a larger part in the whole business than the official documents reveal. Harold Nicolson, *Dwight Morrow* (New York, 1935) discusses the activities of that statesman at the conference.

² *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1929, I, III; 1930, I. That part of the material which relates to the visit of Prime Minister MacDonald to the United States in October, 1929, is separated from the rest of the material and will be found in *ibid.*, 1929, III.

Foreign Office has produced the first of a contemplated series of volumes covering British foreign policy 1919-1939. Actually this volume deals with the events of 1929-1931, and is devoted in the main to the London Naval Conference and to the Franco-Italian negotiations which followed it. We have then both from the State Department and from the Foreign Office fresh material bearing upon the same subject.

It will be obvious of course that not all of the pertinent material either in American or in British archives has been published. For one thing it would be far too bulky (five large folios and several smaller volumes in the British Foreign Office), for another it would be too indiscreet. How far the selection of documents published has been determined by the latter of these two considerations it is impossible to say. The editors of the American documents are not revealed. They were at the time selected by the chief of the Division of Publications in the State Department and worked under his direction.³ It is understood that they were trained scholars and that they were given considerable though not complete freedom in their selection of material for publication. The attitude of the State Department in this matter was set forth in an order approved March 26, 1925, by Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, then Secretary of State.⁴

In this order, a number of limitations upon unfettered freedom of selection are indicated, notably: (1) to avoid publication of matters which would tend to impede current negotiations; (2) to preserve the confidence reposed in this Department by other governments and individuals; (3) to avoid needless offense to other nationalities and individuals; (4) to eliminate personal opinions presented in dispatches and not acted upon by the State Department. In this connection it is further provided that material selected for publication shall be reviewed by policy officers in the Department and that no documents originating with foreign governments shall be published without the consent of the governments concerned.⁵

Obviously these limitations, whatever their justification, constitute a very considerable restriction upon the unfettered selection of material. In practice there appears to be relatively little positive restraint imposed either by policy officers within the State Department or by foreign governments. This

³ The present organization of the State Department differs somewhat from that which prevailed when the material under discussion was published.

⁴ This order is printed in full in *Foreign Relations of the U.S.*, 1930, I, preface. It has recently been amended in some small particulars in State Department Order 297, 1, effective May 5, 1947.

⁵ The actual application of this rule is discussed by Dr. E. Wilder Spaulding, of the Division of Publications, State Department, in *American Journal of International Law*, XLI (April, 1947), 365-77.

may well be, however, because the Division of Publications does a considerable amount of screening before submitting its copy for official review. Judging from the published British documents on the London Naval Conference the United States documents appear to have suppressed nothing of moment, except of course the differences of opinion within the United States government itself in the process of defining its course of action. They reveal United States policy after it has been made, rather than in the making.

British procedure in the matter has been somewhat different. Decision to publish important documents from the Foreign Office archives covering the period 1919-1939 was announced in the House of Commons on March 29, 1944, by Mr. Eden, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The selection and editing of the documents was entrusted to Mr. E. L. Woodward, professor of international relations at Oxford. Mr. Rohan Butler, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, joined Professor Woodward as co-editor in January, 1945, and the field was divided between them, Professor Woodward assuming the responsibility for the second series, beginning with 1929, Mr. Butler for the first series. It may be assumed that the first volume of the second series, which is the first volume to appear in either series,⁶ is mainly Professor Woodward's work.

The principles which have guided Professor Woodward in the selection of his documents are set forth in his preface. Overwhelmed by the mass of material, he has approached his problem in terms of establishing priorities as follows: (1) instructions to British missions abroad; (2) reports from British missions abroad; (3) records of negotiations carried on in London; (4) other material of an informative rather than of an executive kind. Professor Woodward makes clear that these limitations were self-imposed. He acknowledges none of the limitations which the State Department has imposed upon its Division of Publications. He insists that he has been given a free hand.⁷ But all that he really means, apparently, is that when he has insisted upon publication he has not been thwarted. Actually it is hard to believe that he did not accept of his own free will the sort of limitations imposed by the United States Department of State. Like the State Department editor he has omitted all material likely to illuminate the formation of policy rather than the definition of policy.⁸ It is also hard to believe that he did not consult

⁶ Ernest L. Woodward and Rohan Butler, eds., *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, 2d Series, I (London, 1946). Since the writing of this article the following additional volumes have appeared: 1st Series, Vols. I and II, 1919; 2d Series, Vols. II, 1931, and III, 1931-32.

⁷ Cf. on this subject the review of his book in *London Times, Literary Supp.*, Apr. 12, 1947, and subsequent letters to the *Times* on the subject, from Woodward Apr. 26, from his reviewer May 3, 1947.

⁸ The omission of comments by Foreign Office officials is from the point of view of the his-

foreign governments before publishing documents originating with them.⁹ And we may assume that, though the final decision may have rested with him, he did not proceed in the Foreign Office archives like a bull in a china shop. No doubt in questionable cases he did consult policy officers; no doubt he did avoid publications likely to give offense to individuals or to friendly governments. It is particularly striking, for example, in both the British and the United States documents that nothing appears in the publication of the one likely to irritate the sensitivities of the other. This sort of thing is not accidental, though it may not be consciously deliberate. After all, Professor Woodward during the war years occupied a confidential position in the British government, and possibly like many other civilians in the same position developed a security consciousness even more pronounced than that of the professional Foreign Office official. He was the selection of Mr. Eden, and no doubt Mr. Eden recognized in him all the essentials for a delicate and very discriminating job.

The difficulty in appraising both collections of documents arises in part from the fact that the objectives in publication are a little vague. It is clearly not, intentionally at least, the vindication of the foreign office involved, though it comes perilously near it. It is clearly not the needs of the historian; too much that is pertinent to his purposes is omitted. Obviously it is bound to take account of repercussions foreign and domestic, of sensitivities national as well as personal. All this must be recognized and will be recognized by every serious student. But it would be helpful if editors were more frank about the matter and did not discourse about their freedom as though they were not themselves prisoners within their own frame of reference. Professor Woodward makes much of limitations of space, but these limitations appear to have been self-imposed. He makes much of economizing space by not printing documents available elsewhere, yet two thirds of his first chapter has already been printed in *United States Foreign Relations, 1929*, Volume I.

Actually the admitted limitations of the State Department do not appear to have produced less satisfactory results than the inhibitions of Professor

torian particularly unfortunate. In this connection Headlam-Morley's preface to Vol. XI of *British Documents on the Origins of the War* is much to the point.

⁹ Dr. Spaulding, in his article cited above (n.5), reveals that on September 4, 1945, the British embassy at Washington requested permission to print a number of papers in Professor Woodward's volume. "With one exception the papers in question were either papers already published in *Foreign Relations of the United States* or memoranda of conversations and notes of meetings written by British officials." The State Department gave permission in every case. Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

Woodward. On the whole the State Department documents are more revealing.

It will be borne in mind that both collections virtually confine their attention to Foreign Office and State Department documents. They leave out of account in both cases letters, accounted personal, exchanged between officials, which never found their way into the National Archives. For example, the correspondence between MacDonald and Philip Snowden,¹⁰ when MacDonald was away and Snowden was acting as deputy prime minister, would no doubt be very revealing. Hardly less so would be private correspondence between MacDonald and Henderson,¹¹ the subsequent rift between whom was already beginning to reveal itself. On the American side the same sort of omission is equally apparent, with this important addition that the archives of the White House are distinct from those of the State Department. It is an open secret that President Franklin D. Roosevelt maintained personal and confidential contacts with many American officials abroad, which the State Department was not always aware of. To what extent Mr. Hoover, who was President at the time of the London Naval Conference, indulged in the same sort of informality is not revealed.¹² To the historian these are matters of considerable importance in throwing light upon the relations between Foreign Office and State Department as such and their elective chiefs. It would be particularly valuable in a study of the development of British foreign policy at this juncture, when MacDonald's attitude toward naval disarmament marked a definite shift from the position taken by the British government earlier at Geneva and after that in the abortive Anglo-French naval "conversations" of 1928. Hardly less marked is Hoover's much more conciliatory attitude as compared to that of his predecessor, President Coolidge.¹³

¹⁰ Snowden has nothing to say about the London Naval Conference in his *Autobiography*. In this connection it is interesting to note that two important dispatches from MacDonald on the subject of the Naval Conference are printed in the United States documents, but were apparently not found in Foreign Office files. Cf. Woodward, pp. 36 n.1, 47 n.2.

¹¹ Mary Agnes Hamilton in her *Arthur Henderson* (London, 1938) has nothing to say about the London Naval Conference. She reports to have found Henderson's private correspondence very disappointing.

¹² For example, his relations with Bell of the *Chicago Daily News*, cf. Pearson and Brown, p. 72; *Foreign Relations of the U.S.*, 1929, I, 119.

¹³ One striking feature of Professor Woodward's collection is that it contains very little in the way of correspondence between the Foreign Office and the British ambassador at Washington, Sir Esmé Howard. It is to be noted that Howard was absent from Washington, October 13–December 5, 1929 (Woodward, p. 132 n.) and that Sir Robert Vansittart, assistant secretary for foreign affairs turned up in Washington a little earlier, ostensibly on a private visit (Woodward, p. 65 n.1.). Actually, Howard seems to have faded away in October and the affairs of the embassy were managed by R. I. Campbell, until Howard was superseded by Sir Ronald Lindsay, formerly permanent undersecretary for foreign affairs. It is reasonably evident that the Foreign Office thought it important to have their best talent at Washington at the time. Even so, it is worth

Generally speaking, the British documents are more informing about negotiations which took place out of England and the United States documents about those which took place in England. The reason for this is obvious. On the American side perhaps the best example of it is the much more complete data in the United States documents about the preliminary negotiations for the treaty at London in the summer and autumn of 1929. Conversely, the British documents are much more illuminating about the heretofore rather mysterious personal conference between MacDonald and Hoover at Rapidan in January, 1930.

Neither collection tells us much about the response to the negotiations of the French, Italians, or Japanese in their home lands. During the whole course of negotiations there is only one dispatch from the United States ambassador in Italy, and, before December, 1929, nothing at all from the American embassy at Paris. Nor is there any from the American embassy at Tokyo before January, 1930. To the outsider it seems extraordinary that apparently no attempt was made by United States representatives abroad to appraise official and unofficial attitudes in the various countries involved during the preliminary stages of the treaty making. In the United States documents as published there is no evidence of any attempt even to summarize the trends in the press. Probably this was due in part to the fact that new United States ambassadors were appointed in virtually every one of the countries involved during the course of the negotiations—Edge to France, November 21, 1929; Garrett to Italy, September 11, 1929; Castle to Japan, December 11, 1929. But even so, one would have expected more in the way of enlightening reports from the staffs of the embassies involved. These, of course, may be somewhere on file but on the basis of the documents published one gets the impression that the United States foreign service was not, in those days, measuring up very well to its responsibilities.

On the British side the picture is much the same, if one may judge from Professor Woodward's volume. During the whole course of the preliminary discussions in 1929 he prints only one dispatch from Sir John Tilley, the

noting that, by Professor Woodward's own admission, he has left out altogether what sounds like significant material in the correspondence with Howard. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 65 n.2,3; 75 n.1; 165 n.1. In this connection, Howard's interview with Senator Borah is not without significance. No light is cast upon it in Woodward, but *cf. New York Times*, June 21-23, 1929. Another striking omission in Woodward's collection is MacDonald's contacts with the Dominions, though he made much of their approval in the negotiations. At least one important document alluded to is not printed (*cf. Woodward*, p. 123). Some important dispatches from Lord Tyrrell, British ambassador at Paris, appear also to have been omitted. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 179 n.1, 185 n.1.

British ambassador at Tokyo, and none at all from Paris or Rome. After MacDonald's visit to the United States in October the situation in this respect improves. Between October and the opening of the formal conference in January, Professor Woodward prints four dispatches from Sir Ronald Graham, ambassador at Rome, seven from Lord Tyrrell, ambassador to Paris, and one from Sir John Tilley. All three of these men were seasoned veterans in foreign service. Sir John Tilley has since published the standard history of the Foreign Office. Lord Tyrrell was permanent undersecretary for foreign affairs during the three years immediately preceeding his appointment to Paris in 1928. His dispatches are indeed much the best source of information in either of these collections on French sentiment. Unfortunately, Professor Woodward has left out some of them, which, from his allusions to them, seem significant. It is not surprising that he has been even more reticent in the publication of reports from the British embassy at Washington about the situation in the United States. But it is hard to explain the lack of any adequate information from Sir John Tilley in Japan. Certainly there is no weighty reason at this time to bother much about Japanese sensitivities.

One gets the impression from these collections that the British Foreign Office was functioning more efficiently at this juncture than its American counterpart. Yet it is to be hoped that both the Foreign Office and the State Department were kept better informed about the situation, official and unofficial, in the other countries involved, than either of these collections would seem to indicate.

The obvious answer to complaints of this sort is that one cannot publish everything and that some selection must be made from the overwhelming mass of materials—all of which is true, and certainly half a loaf is better than none. Nevertheless, the historian finds himself completely at the mercy of the editor and, in the case of the State Department publications, at the mercy of an editor whose anonymity prevents any real appraisal of his qualifications for his job. Professor Woodward has indicated his basis of selection, but in such broad terms and with so many admitted exceptions that we are not much better off than if he had said nothing. And as for the State Department publications, what they include, they include. What they omit can only be guessed at. If it were possible to list the title of every pertinent document (excluding of course those of such nature that their very provenience may not be disclosed) and to indicate why documents unpublished are not published, then the historian would know where he was. He is presumably sensible enough to realize that much must be omitted for a variety of good

reasons. But he would like to know how closely the printed materials on a particular subject approximate the extant material. And he would particularly like to know, with some degree of exactitude, what criteria the editors themselves apply to their process of selection.

Negro Craftsmanship in Early America

LEONARD PRICE STAVISKY*

MANY Americans continue to harbor ideas of racial hierarchies by believing that the Negro is incapable of performing a series of skilled operations. There are still those who persist in picturing him as the "plantation darky" capable only of work in the cotton fields. Nevertheless, it remains an indisputable fact that Negro labor is gradually changing from agriculture to industry. According to one recent tabulation, the number of Negro tradesmen in the United States totals more than 135,000.¹ This trend is not of recent origin. As early as 1783 a German physician, touring the United States, was astonished to find that "the gentlemen in the country have among their negroes as the Russian nobility among the serfs, the most necessary handicrafts-men, cobblers, tailors, carpenters, smiths, and the like whose work they command at the smallest possible price or for nothing almost. There is hardly any trade or craft," he observed, "which has not been learned and is not carried on by negroes."²

The presence of Negro craftsmanship during the first years of political independence from Britain would seem to suggest that this tradition had its origin prior to the advent of the American Revolution. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Negro workers engaged in the crafts while still on the continent of Africa. In the Sudan, almost one thousand years ago, cotton was already being woven. Long before England established colonies in the Western Hemisphere, primitive tanning, weaving, and toolmaking were practiced by the natives of Lake Tchad and Timbuctoo. As one author maintains, "the decorative character manifested in the handicrafts of the black races of Africa is of surpassing character. . . . The native hand derives the maximum of expression from the few elements afforded by the soil."³

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¹ Gordon B. Hancock, "The Changing Status of Negro Labor," *Southern Workman*, LX (August, 1931), 352-53; U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940* (Washington, 1943), III, 88.

² Johann D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784*, ed. by Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia, 1911), II, 221.

³ George S. Schuyler, "Craftsmen in the Blue Grass," *Crisis*, XLVII (May, 1940), 158; Giles B. Jackson and D. Webster Davis, *The Industrial History of the Negro Race in the United States* (Richmond, 1908), p. 13; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro American Artisan* (Atlanta, 1912), pp. 25-26; P. G. LePage, "Arts and Crafts of the Negro," *International Studio*, LXXVIII (March, 1924), 477-78.

While African Negroes may have had some experience in the manual arts and crafts, this had little direct influence upon American handiwork. The severance of relations with the African continent resulted in a loss of these traditional skills among the later generations of transplanted Negroes. During the early years of American slavery, little thought was given to the possibility of converting imported "savages" into artisans. Slaves were brought to America for agricultural purposes and in most instances were used for no other work. Among the planter class there were those who felt that craftsmanship did nothing more than replace the stock which it consumed and hence was less productive than agriculture.⁴ Still others feared that industrialization would bring the slave into contact with free workers and provide access to tools needed for fashioning weapons, thus increasing the danger of insurrection.⁵ These factors, together with the hostility of white artisans to slave competition⁶ and the widespread belief that black men were inferior in mind and body,⁷ served as ample justification for restricting the Negro to predominantly agricultural service.

On the other hand, the steady decline in the price of colonial tobacco, the mainstay of Southern agrarianism, weakened the arguments of its advocates. The handicrafts, even if they created products only commensurate

⁴ Alexander Hamilton, *Works*, ed. by John C. Hamilton (New York, 1851), III, 219; Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, ed. by Edwin Cannan (New York, 1937), pp. 631-33.

⁵ Several of the slaves implicated in the New York "Negro conspiracy" of 1741, which allegedly had as its objective the burning of the city and the murder of its inhabitants, were artisans. Even the preliminary meetings were held at the homes of white tradesmen whom the Negroes probably met while at work. Daniel Horsmanden, *The New York Conspiracy, or a History of the Negro Plot* (New York, 1810), *passim*. Aptheker makes reference to this conspiracy as well as to an abortive Virginia plot involving a slave blacksmith who used his skill to fashion three hundred spears for the intended insurrection. Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York, 1943), pp. 114-15, 192-93, 211.

⁶ The term "white artisan," as used here, applies primarily to the "journeyman" class rather than to the "master" craftsman, who himself may have employed slave assistants. Such protests by white workers against the competition of slave labor usually were presented in the form of petitions to the colonial authorities. Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), p. 185 n.; Morris, "Labor and Mercantilism," in *The Era of the American Revolution* (New York, 1939), pp. 79-80; Marcus W. Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 20-21; John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Times* (Philadelphia, 1844), I, 97-98; Cheesman A. Herrick, *White Servitude in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1926), p. 88; Papers of Daniel Horsmanden (MSS.), pp. 175-76 in the library of the New-York Historical Society; Samuel D. McKee, *Labor in Colonial New York* (New York, 1935), p. 127. For a statement by a colonial official reiterating the grievances of local artisans, see Charles Z. Lincoln, ed., *Messages from the Governors* (Albany, 1909), I, 260.

⁷ Perhaps typical of the eighteenth century Virginia gentry, Colonel George Mason maintained that slavery discouraged the arts and crafts, for it prevented the importation of white laborers "who really enrich and strengthen a country." George Livermore, *The Opinions of the Founders of the Republic on Negroes as Slaves, Citizens, and Soldiers* (Boston, 1863), p. 56. Similar opinions may be found in Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. by H. A. Washington (New York, 1863), VIII, 386; William Byrd to Lord Egmont, July 12, 1736, *American Historical Review*, I (October, 1895), 89; Lorenzo D. Turner, "Anti-Slavery Sentiment in American Literature," *Journal of Negro History*, XIV (October, 1929), 386.

with the value of the materials originally expended, as the planters had maintained, were not completely unproductive. Manufacturing, unlike agriculture, was independent of seasonal weather fluctuations and seemed more conducive to specialization, thereby affording greater opportunity for improvement.⁸ Even Thomas Jefferson, the champion of agrarian America, eventually recognized industrialism as one of the major pillars of our prosperity and urged a policy which would plant the manufacturer and husbandman side by side and establish "at the door of every one that exchange of mutual labors and comforts, which we have hitherto sought in distant regions."⁹

Unquestionably the strongest argument for the use of Negro artisans was a scarcity of labor. During most of the colonial period, in spite of constant demand for the products of skilled craftsmanship, the supply of workers who had mastered the trades was generally inadequate. The province of South Carolina in 1731 had only one potter, while Connecticut, the following year, had not enough capmakers to manufacture one half the hats worn by the inhabitants. Writing of New Hampshire, Jeremy Belknap deplored the "want of experienced and industrious workmen."¹⁰ Peter Purry, of Neufchâtel, while advising European emigrants about to depart for the Southern colonies, emphasized the need for tradesmen. Those desirous of going as servants, he remarked, should be carpenters or good laborers. Without referring specifically to the shortage of tailors, Purry notified each to take with him at least three or four good shirts and a suit of clothes.¹¹ In a similar vein Benjamin Franklin called attention to the "continual demand for artisans of all the necessary and useful kinds to supply those cultivators of the earth with houses and with furniture and utensils of the grosser sorts, which cannot so well be brought from Europe."¹²

This situation gave the few established tradesmen excellent bargaining powers. In many communities the price of labor rose steadily, occasionally becoming almost prohibitive. In New York at the beginning of the eighteenth century the "high wages of the labourer" seriously hampered the production

⁸ Robert Beverly, *The History of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 255; Jernegan, *Laboring and Dependent Classes*, p. 8; Jernegan, "Slavery and the Beginnings of Industrialism in the American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, XXV (January, 1920), 222; Hamilton, III, 198-201.

⁹ Jefferson's Tammany Society speech, Feb. 29, 1808, in Saul K. Padover, ed., *The Complete Jefferson* (New York, 1943), pp. 529-30.

¹⁰ J. P. Purry, "A Description of the Province of South Carolina, Drawn up at Charles Town, in September, 1731," in Peter Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers* (Washington, D. C., 1836-46), II, no. XI, 14; Governor and Company of Connecticut to the Board of Trade, October, 1732, in Mary K. Talcott, ed., "The Talcott Papers," Connecticut Historical Society, *Collections*, IV (Hartford, 1892), 263; Works Project Administration, Federal Writers' Program, *New Hampshire: A Guide to the Granite State* (Boston, 1938), p. 37.

¹¹ "Artificers are so scarce at present," Purry observed, "that all sorts of work is very dear; Taylors, Shoemakers, Smiths &c. would be particularly acceptable." Purry, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 14.

¹² Benjamin Franklin, *Works*, ed. by Jared Sparks (Boston, 1836-40), II, 471-72.

of naval stores.¹³ To add to the difficulties facing the colonial employer, virgin land was available at reasonable rates. As late as 1779 Dr. Hewit reported that the "artificer and tradesman, after having labored for a few years at their respective employments, and purchased a few negroes, commonly retreat to the country, and settle tracts of uncultivated land."¹⁴ Masters tried to import European workers, but the results were often unsatisfactory. Indentured servants, just as domestic tradesmen, were attracted by the prospects of cheap land. Leaving before their contracts had expired, these men had little difficulty disappearing into the mass of free citizens.¹⁵ As a last resort employers turned to their final source of potential industrial labor—Negro slaves.

The employment of slave mechanics, it was commonly agreed, would restrain the rapid turnover in man power and counteract the excessive wage demands of free workers. In scattered instances American Negroes began working at the trades only a few years after the introduction of slavery. By 1649 one Virginia planter had forty colored helpers whom he instructed in spinning, weaving, and shoemaking. With only about three hundred Negroes in the entire colony, this meant that approximately one out of every seven was receiving instruction in the crafts.¹⁶ Five years later Richard Johnson, a mulatto carpenter, was granted one hundred acres of land in Northampton County, Virginia.¹⁷ In old New Amsterdam Negroes were required to build roads and fortifications, while in 1676 Colonel Richard Morris employed sixty to seventy slaves at his New Jersey iron mill and plantation.¹⁸ However, in

¹³ Robert Livingston to the Lords of Trade, May 13, 1701, in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856-87), IV, 875.

¹⁴ Bartholomew R. Carroll, ed., *Historical Collections of South Carolina* (New York, 1846), I, 377. Also consult Benjamin Franklin, *Observations concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries*, etc. (Boston, 1755), p. 4; Governor William Franklin to the Earl of Hillsborough, June 14, 1768, quoted in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, VI, *Transactions, 1899, 1900* (Boston, 1904), 360; Albert C. Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912), p. 328.

¹⁵ E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849-51), I, 499; Philip A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1896), II, 413. In addition one could not be certain of the quality of work of imported help. Occasionally inexperienced laborers successfully misrepresented themselves as skilled artisans in order to gain passage to the Western Hemisphere. Even those indentured immigrants who were potentially capable, many colonial employers insisted, viewed America as a land of relaxation, thus performing half-hearted service and refusing to toil for as many hours as they had been accustomed to in Europe. *A Complete Revisal of All the Acts of Assembly of the Province of North Carolina* (New Bern, 1773), p. 79; B. Franklin, *Works*, ed. by John Bigelow (New York, 1905), III, 101; Stella H. Sutherland, *Population Distribution in Colonial America* (New York, 1936), p. 216.

¹⁶ Raymond B. Pinchbeck, *The Virginia Negro Artisan and Tradesman* (Richmond, 1926), p. 15; Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), p. 136.

¹⁷ Pinchbeck, p. 23.

¹⁸ George E. Haynes, *The Negro at Work in New York City* (New York, 1912), p. 66; O'Callaghan, *Docs. Rel. to Col. Hist. of New York*, I, 499, II, 474, III, 307; Marion T. Wright, "New Jersey Laws and the Negro," *Journal of Negro History*, XXVIII (April, 1943), 161.

spite of these early evidences, it was not until the eighteenth century that Negro craftsmanship became a factor of some importance in American economy.

Skilled Negro labor, in one form or another, was present in every province of colonial America,¹⁹ although in no large area did craftsmanship constitute the predominant form of Negro service. The North employed its black inhabitants as household domestics and unskilled laborers, while in the South their capability as field hands overshadowed many attempts to use them extensively for other purposes. Probably the largest proportion of Negro artisans was to be found in the middle provinces, whose flourishing towns served to encourage the development of the trades, and where Negroes could become assistants to established tradesmen. In New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, Negroes worked as bakers, brewers, bricklayers, butchers, carpenters, cooks, coopers, distillers, goldsmiths, plasterers, shoemakers, silversmiths, and weavers.²⁰ Even in the towns of New England, where the number of black inhabitants was always small, Negroes were assimilated into industry. Reflecting the commercial trends of the coastal region, many engaged in various phases of shipbuilding. At a Boston slave auction in October, 1751, five "strong hearty stout Negro men, most of them Tradesmen, such as Caulkers, Sailmakers, etc.," were offered for sale, while in Newport and Providence, Rhode Island, slave workers gave service as anchor makers, mast builders, rope makers, and spinners.²¹

¹⁹ Slavery was prohibited in the colony of Georgia before 1750, and hence the development of Negro craftsmanship in that region was somewhat retarded.

²⁰ For examples of Negro craftsmanship in the middle colonies consult: "Eighteenth Century Slaves as Advertised by Their Masters," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, I (April, 1916), 179, 194, 203; *Archives of the State of New Jersey*, 1st series, XX (1898), 8, 263, XXVIII (1916), 48; *Archives of Maryland*, XXVIII (1908), 43; O'Callaghan, *Docs. Rel. New York*, IV, 875, V, 444, 460; *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York, 1654-1826* (New-York Historical Society, *Collections*, LIX, LX, 1927), I, 261, 560; Harry B. Yoshpe, ed., "Record of Slave Manumissions in New York during the Colonial and Early National Periods," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXV (January, 1941), 89; Rita S. Gottesman, ed., *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776* (New-York Hist. Soc., *Collections*, LXIX, 1938), pp. 48, 140; Alfred C. Prime, ed., *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina, 1721-1800* (Philadelphia, 1929-32), I, 48; Prime, *Colonial Craftsmen of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1925), p. 3; Mrs. A. C. Prime, ed., *Three Centuries of Historic Silver* (Philadelphia, 1938), pp. 52-53; *New York Mercury*, Mar. 1, 1756, Aug. 30, 1756, Dec. 9, 1765; *New York Gazette*, July 6-13, 1730, Aug. 27-Sept. 3, 1733; March 24-31, 1735; *New York Weekly Post-Boy*, Apr. 3, 1749; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 21, 1737, Apr. 21, 1761, Aug. 6, 1777; *Pennsylvania Packet*, May 1, 1784.

²¹ *Boston Post-Boy*, June 22, 1752, in Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (Washington, 1930-35), III, 66; Lorenzo J. Greene, "The New England Negro as Seen in Advertisements for Runaway Slaves," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXIX (April, 1944), 139; H. Gardner to C. Chaplin, Dec. 23, 1774, *The Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 7th series, IX, X 1914-15), I, 523; *Newport Mercury*, Apr. 27, 1772; *Boston News-Letter*, Jan. 29, 1748, in George F. Dow, ed., *The Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704-1775* (Topsfield, Mass., 1927), p. 197. For other examples of New England Negro tradesmen consult: *Boston Independent Chronicle and the Uni-*

Occupying a unique role in the development of Negro craftsmanship were the Southern colonies. In this region, agriculture dominated the economy, and domestic manufacturing was conceived as ancillary to the traditional agrarian system. On many plantations, slaves, although primarily engaged in planting, found it necessary to have some mechanical knowledge in order to attend to any serious emergency that might arise. From these beginnings emerged a corps of slave artisans whose work was identified with the prevailing agrarian economy and upon whose skills the planters began to depend with increasing frequency. Probably the first trade in which the Southern Negro received instruction was coopering. In preparing the crop for market, large numbers of casks were required, and slaves were therefore taught to cut, bend, and hoop staves into the required shapes. Before the end of the colonial period, one writer insists, every large estate in the rice belt of South Carolina had its own coopering shop. Workers were also needed to construct the small boats on which the shipment was transported to market, while others were given training in the navigation of these vessels, hence the development of Negro ship carpenters and pilots. It is safe to assume that anyone who could not work at the trades himself and did not have slaves who understood these tasks, often found living in the South rather difficult.²²

With the passage of time the relationship between agriculture and the crafts became even closer. Added numbers of Southern slaves were taught to practice the trades, thus partially relieving dependence upon Europe and the Northern provinces. Often the children of the household servants were encouraged to sew and embroider. Planters also built looms and put their slaves to work at making cloth. George Washington, like countless other slaveowners, had a weaving house on his estate, employing a white supervisor and five Negro girls, who together supplied the clothing for many persons living in the vicinity. Even the medium-sized plantation was equipped with spinning wheel and weaving loom, in this way ensuring the profitable

versal Advertiser, Jan. 16, 1777; "Advertisements from the Records of Middle-sex County, Virginia, March 5, 1677-78," *William and Mary College Quarterly*, VI (October, 1897), 117; "Eighteenth Century Slaves Advertised," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, I, 165; *Boston News-Letter and Evening Post*, July 11, 1746, in Donnan, III, 66; *Providence Gazette*, July 28, 1770, reprinted in William D. Johnston, *Slavery in Rhode Island, 1755-1776* (Providence, 1894), p. 28; also newspaper extracts in Dow, pp. 62, 187, 188, 189, 195, 197, 202, 304.

²² W.P.A., Federal Writers' Program, *The Negro in Virginia* (New York, 1940), p. 47; Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York, 1899), p. 387; J. Urmstone to the Secretary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, July 7, 1711, in Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *Plantation and Frontier Documents* (Cleveland, 1910), II, 272.

use of valuable labor at times when the selling price of tobacco fell below production expenditures.²³

On the other hand, some of the larger plantations became almost economic units in themselves, having at their disposal sufficient men and equipment to continue operating irrespective of conditions outside. During the most pressing days of the American Revolution, when the British were dangerously near and supplies were virtually unobtainable, many plantations escaped privation because of facilities installed during peacetime. On the plantation of George Mason, for example, were slave "carpenters, coopers, sawyers, blacksmiths, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, spinners, weavers and knitters, and even a distiller." His forest land furnished wood for the carpenters and coopers; his cattle provided skins for the tanners, curriers, and shoemakers; his sheep and his cotton fields supplied the spinners and weavers, while his fruit trees were used by the distillers.²⁴ John Dixon of Williamsburg, Virginia, owned a host of slave handicraftsmen, including blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers, shoemakers, and plasterers. On another plantation were "several pairs of sawyers, two coopers, two or three indifferent house-carpenters and a ship-carpenter and caulker." The estate of William Byrd of Westover, a mere 43,000 acres, had two hundred and twenty Negroes, "many of them being Tradesmen," who were assessed at 7,000 pounds. According to Philip V. Fithian, Robert Carter operated textile factories, mills, bakeries, salt works, smiths' shops, and iron forges. Carter's slave labor supply, at one time numbering more than five hundred, included one Negro whom the master would not sell for five hundred pounds. Such plantations, having at their disposal extensive working forces, mines, transportation facilities, shops, mills, and tools, seemingly approximated many of the features of modern "vertical" trusts in controlling every aspect of their own production and distribution.²⁵

²³ J. Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*, ed. by Henry L. Bourdin, et. al. (New Haven, 1925), p. 143; Jesse W. Parkhurst, "The Role of the Black Mammy in the Plantation Household," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXIII (July, 1938), 358; Julia C. Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill, 1938), p. 75; Frances Little, *Early American Textiles* (New York, 1931), p. 31. As an illustration of the extent of household manufacturing, during the year 1768 George Washington's slave weavers produced more than 1,355 yards of cloth. One of Washington's neighbors, Robert Carter, apparently abandoned the use of white textile workers after once trying Negro labor, although the change may have been influenced by a shortage of white artisans during the American Revolution. Phillips, II, 315, 324-25.

²⁴ From the MS. Recollections of George Mason, quoted in Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Patrician and Plebian in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1912), p. 50.

²⁵ *South Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 2, 1749, Sept. 19, 1751, reprinted in Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *The Old South* (New York, 1942), pp. 230, 231; William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709-1712*, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, 1941), p. 186; *Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741*, ed. by Maude H. Woodfin and Marion Tinling (Richmond, 1942), pp. 324, 325; Philip V. Fithian, *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, ed. by Hunter D.

The individual worker followed a similar pattern. Almost invariably he was responsible for the production of a single item from its first to its last stage. Division of labor during the colonial period was largely nonexistent, and therefore each craftsman was expected to plan, construct, and ornament his own product. Furthermore, every trade carried a very broad implication. Regardless of his occupation the slave artisan usually had to know various other crafts related to his own. Thus the Negro blacksmith often could perform every phase in the production of iron, including the skilled art of fashioning tools, while the carpenter was simultaneously a cabinetmaker, wood turner, builder, coffin and pattern maker, architect, contractor, wheelwright, sawyer, and cooper.²⁶ To accomplish this required more than an average amount of intelligence and ability. Several slave craftsmen were described as being "very artful," "very sensible," or "ingenious," while a few even mastered two or more foreign languages. In the relatively short period of three months, one Southern planter was able to train thirty Negroes to produce a weekly total of one hundred and twenty yards of cotton and woolen cloth. Two Negro workers in South Carolina were each capable of producing two pairs of shoes per day. Another shoemaker in the same province attended to his master's shop alone for a period of nine years, while in New York an aged shopkeeper pleaded with a court to commute the sentence of a convicted slave blacksmith so that the Negro could continue to support him.²⁷

In some instances Negro artisans gained a limited measure of recognition because of their workmanship. Slave craftsmen at Andover, New Jersey, produced superior iron wares which were eventually accepted for high quality on the basis of brand name alone.²⁸ Even in the "artistic" crafts Negro workers managed to leave their imprint. Serving as pipe carvers, upholsterers, tool and instrument makers, and manufacturers of cabinets, chairs, and other types of furniture, many performed skillfully for their employers. In Boston Thomas Fleet, a printer, kept in his shop three colored helpers who worked

Farish (Williamsburg, 1945), pp. xi, 173; DuBois, *Negro American Artisan*, p. 35; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (London, 1724), pp. 44, 60, 131, 135, in Sabin's *Reprints*, 1865.

²⁶ Pinchbeck, p. 14; Charles B. Bradley, *Design in the Industrial Arts* (Peoria, Ill., 1946), p. 26; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro Artisan* (Atlanta, 1902), pp. 17, 33; Philip A. Bruce, *The Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (Lynchburg, 1929), p. 120.

²⁷ "Eighteenth Century Slaves Advertised," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, I, 186, 187, 196, 197; Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, 1921), p. 13; *South Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1764, May 24, 1768, reprinted in Jernegan, "Slavery and Industrialism," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 234; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York* (Albany, 1856-66), Part II, 444.

²⁸ *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Mar. 1, 1773; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 29, 1774; William Allen, *Extracts from Chief Justice William Allen's Letter Book*, ed. by Lewis B. Walker (Pottsville, 1897), p. 70; Charles S. Boyer, *Early Forges and Furnaces in New Jersey* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 28.

at setting type and cutting wooden blocks. One of these printers was responsible for engraving all the pictures found in the publications of his master. As a young man Gilbert Stuart, the Republic's first great portrait painter, derived great pleasure from observing the work of Neptune Thurston, a New England slave cooper, who sketched portraits on the heads of the casks in his master's shop. According to J. A. Porter, our only contemporary likeness of Negro poetess Phillis Wheatley, a rough copperplate engraving, was probably the work of a slave.²⁹

In other fields of artistic craftsmanship Negro labor was likewise represented. The luxuriously built Southern mansions, notably Jefferson's dwelling at Monticello, as well as the decorative hand-wrought grills and balconies found in the older quarters of New Orleans and Charleston, still attest to the quality of eighteenth century slave labor.³⁰ One of the original surveyors of our nation's capital at Washington, Benjamin Banneker, the Negro astronomer and mathematician whose contributions evoked praise from Jefferson,³¹ once experimented as an amateur handicraftsman. In the province of Maryland in the year 1762 Banneker is reported to have constructed the first clock ever made in America. A factor even more astonishing to his neighbors was that the builder had undertaken the task without ever having seen a clock before. Using a small watch as his model, wood as his raw material, and a pocket knife as his tool, he meticulously assembled a machine which remained in perfect operation for over two decades.³² Employed at allied occupations in some of the larger towns were Negro goldsmiths, jewelers, and silversmiths. William Ball of Philadelphia, a prominent white silversmith and jeweler, used several Negro assistants. In his Front Street shop, next to

²⁹ New York *Gazette*, Mar. 24-31, 1735; New York *Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy*, Jan. 6, 1763; Gottesman, pp. 140, 317; Boston *Gazette*, Jan. 27-Feb. 3, 1728; Boston *News Letter*, Apr. 8-15, 1742; Dow, pp. 195, 272; South Carolina and American General *Gazette*, June 3, 1771; Prime, *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia*, I, 167; James A. Porter, *Modern Negro Art* (New York, 1943), pp. 15, 16, 18.

³⁰ Charles S. Johnson, *The Negro in American Civilization* (New York, 1930), p. 11; W.P.A., Writers' Program, *Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York, 1940), p. 77; Albert H. Sonn, *Early American Wrought Iron* (New York, 1928), III, 7-8; J. A. Porter, "Four Problems in the History of Negro Art," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XXVII (January, 1942), 13-14; Alain Locke, *Negro Art, Past and Present* (Washington, 1936), p. 15; Locke, *The Negro in Art* (Washington, 1940), p. 8; Schuyler, in *Crisis*, XLVII, 158.

³¹ Writing to Banneker on August 30, 1791, Jefferson declared: "No body wishes more than I do to see such proofs as you exhibit, that nature has given to our black brethren, talents equal to those of the other colors of men, and that a want of them is owing merely to the degraded condition of their existence both in Africa and America." Thomas Jefferson, *Writings*, ed. by P. L. Ford (New York, 1892-99), V, 377.

³² Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York, 1915), p. 91; Henry E. Baker, "Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, III (April, 1918), 105-107, 111; "Benjamin Banneker, the Negro Astronomer," *Atlantic Monthly*, XI (January, 1863), 81, 82-83; DuBois, *Negro American Artisan*, p. 29; Robert Fortenbaugh, "The Learned Negro," *Jour. Negro Hist.*, XIV (April, 1929), 239-42.

the London Coffee House, Ball manufactured "gold and silver in all its branches." In 1778 he was temporarily plagued by a labor shortage, for "three Negro men, viz., Tom, by trade a silversmith," left his shop and deserted to the British army.³³ Probably the most famous Maryland craftsman of his day, William Faris of Annapolis, whose many undertakings brought him into the realm of the silversmith, cabinetmaker, jeweler, and clockmaker, also relied on the services of slave helpers. After 1770 Faris became so well established that, unlike other shopkeepers, he found it unnecessary to advertise. Nevertheless, as one biographer maintains: "An appraisal of William Faris' ability as a working silversmith is difficult, as it is impossible to distinguish between the work of his own hand and the silver made in the shop by his workmen."³⁴

In some instances such skills as the Negro acquired while in a state of slavery later became a source of employment when he was free. Recognizing this fact, masters, when preparing statements of manumission, often provided that these former servants should be permitted to leave with their tools.³⁵ On the other hand, the situation confronting the freedman was not always enviable. Thrust into a different environment, deprived of all the protective influence of a master, confronted by the hostility of established white tradesmen, and subjected to almost as many legal restrictions as a slave,³⁶ the liberated Negro worker encountered great difficulty in trying to

³³ Boston *Gazette*, Nov. 14, 1752, in Dow, p. 62; New York *Mercury*, Aug. 30, 1756; New York *Gazette or Weekly Post-Boy*, Feb. 23, 1764, in Gottesman, p. 48; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1777; *Pennsylvania Packet*, Oct. 12, 1772, Sept. 1, 1778, May 1, 1784, in Prime, *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia*, I, 43-46, 78-79. A less honorable form of the silversmith trade was practiced by those Negroes who stole household plate, stripped off the precious metal, and then sold it to an equally unscrupulous dealer. Governor Hunt of New York to the Lords of Trade, Nov. 14, 1710, in O'Callaghan, *Docs. Rel. to New York*, IV, 187; *South Carolina Gazette*, Feb. 22, 1752, Mar. 9, 1752, in Prime, *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia*, I, 93, 102.

³⁴ Of one of his Negro workers, by trade a silversmith, jeweler, and lapidary, Faris once said: "There are few if any better workmen in America." Jacob H. Pleasants and Howard Sill, *Maryland Silversmiths: 1715-1830* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 257-58, 266; *Maryland Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1759, Dec. 4, 1760, Aug. 25, 1763, Aug. 2, 1764, Jan. 4, 1770, in Prime, *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia*, I, 241-42.

³⁵ *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office of New York, 1665-1784* (New-York Hist. Soc., *Collections*, XXV-XXXVI, 1892-1903), V, 42; James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland, 1634-1860* (New York, 1921), pp. 154-55 n.

³⁶ In order to keep the number of manumissions at a minimum, many colonies called for proof that the servant had served meritoriously and required that the master file a complete report and post a bond guaranteeing that the Negro would not become a liability on the community. Furthermore, the freedman was generally prohibited by law from having any dealings with slaves. In some cases the free Negro was compelled to repair the public highways for a specific period each year without receiving remuneration for his labor. Finally, at the discretion of the colonial authorities, adult freedmen who neglected to work or who did not pay their taxes, as well as emancipated minors, could be bound out for service to local employers. Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, 1895-1906), XXIV, 221; W. W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large, being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1823), VI, 112; Charles Z. Lincoln, et al., eds., *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany, 1894-96), II, 683; *Acts and Laws of His Majesty's Province*

assimilate himself into the mass of free citizens. To add to these obstacles, he frequently discovered that much of the instruction which he had received as a slave, especially if he had been trained on a plantation, was elementary in nature and not of the highest standards.³⁷ It is not surprising that many freedmen either abandoned the crafts or lapsed into a state of servitude.³⁸ Thus a combination of white prejudice, original inexperience, and a lack of opportunity for improvement served as limiting factors in the early development of skilled Negro craftsmanship in America.

of the Massachusetts Bay in New England (Boston, 1726), p. 176; *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1869-1924), I, 519; J. H. Trumbull and C. J. Hoadley, eds., *The Public Records of the State of Connecticut, 1776-1780* (Hartford, 1894-95), I, 415-16; Pinchbeck, pp. 20-21; James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, eds., *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682-1801* (Harrisburg, 1896-1908), IV, 62-63; B. W. Leigh and W. W. Hening, eds., *The Revised Code of the Laws of Virginia* (Richmond, 1819), I, 434-35; "Court Records Pertaining to Negro Education in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, II (April, 1895), 429.

³⁷ As the Reverend Hugh Jones of Virginia was quick to observe, the work of slave craftsmen was not always "the aptest or nicest." Plantation artisans had been readily used for minor tasks, but owners did not have complete confidence in the ability of their slaves to handle operations of a more technical nature. It is interesting to note that certain masters, including William Byrd, went to great expense to secure the services of foreign artisans in spite of the availability of Negroes who had been trained in the crafts. Jones, p. 36; DuBois, *Negro Artisans*, p. 13.

³⁸ Edward R. Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery-Servitude-Freedom, 1639-1861* (Washington, 1911), pp. 89-91.

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Documents

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The Surrender of Pensacola as Told by the British

RUTH ANNA FISHER*

ANDREW Jackson, on the sixth of November, 1814, sent an ultimatum to Gonzales Manrique, governor of Pensacola, demanding, within one hour, the surrender of that city and its fortifications. Jackson did this because the British, having been repulsed at Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point on September 14, 1814, had retired to Pensacola, and he thought it against the best interests of the United States to allow this district to assume the character of British territory as it had done by the governor of Pensacola resigning the command of the fortress there to the British. He did not wish to make war on Spain, but with the forts garrisoned by United States troops he could insist upon Spain's neutrality until more permanent arrangements to insure this could be made between their two nations.

Early the following morning, then, the town was attacked and, after some slight resistance on the part of the Spanish occupying troops, was taken. The seven British ships in the bay were so placed that their fire was of very little help to the Spanish forces as Jackson, by a rapid detour, had brought his men into the town before the British realized what he was about or could change the position of their men-of-war. Finding themselves unable to give any effective assistance, the British blew up the Barrancas, and their supplies and Indian allies having already been taken on board, the next morning, the eighth, they sailed away.

This, in the main, is the generally accepted story as told by Bassett.¹

The British account of this same incident, however, is very different. It is told in a report made to the Admiralty by Vice Admiral Alexander Cochrane and based on letters sent him by Captain W. H. Percy of the *Hermes*, Captain James A. Gordon of the *Seahorse* and Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nicholls, commander of the land forces.²

When Captain Percy arrived off the entrance of the Appalachicola River in November, 1814, as he afterwards reported to the governor of Havana, he

*The author is on the staff of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.

¹ John Spencer Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1925), pp. 137-140; *id.*, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-35), II, 92-93.

² Public Record Office, London, Admiralty I, Vol. 505, pp. 299-301.

received a letter from Don Mateo Gonzales Manrique, the governor of Pensacola, "requesting our assistance to repel a threatened attack by the American Army then in that neighbourhood. I immediately proceeded thither," he continued,

with His Majesty's Squadron under my command and the Land Forces under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Nicolls; On our arrival we found the Fortifications in a ruinous state, and no appearance of any intention on the part of the Government to repair them.

Lieutenant Colonel Nicolls and myself immediately offered all the assistance in our power both to repair the ruined Works and to defend them. I am sorry to have to add that our assistance has been rendered nugatory by the total want of all co-operation on the part of the principal officers who have on all occasions shewed a causeless jealousy of us.

Captain Gordon, Commanding His Britannic Majestys Ship Sea horse, will communicate to your Excellency the occurrences which have taken place since his arrival at this place and the infallible consequences of that jealousy and want of confidence of which I have above complained.³

The story is continued in a letter from Captain Gordon to Sir Alexander Cochrane of November 18.⁴

Though Captain Percy and Lieut. Colonel Nichols had done everything in the power of British Officers, to stimulate the Governor to do something for the defence of the Forts and Towns, I felt it my duty in conjunction with Lieut. Colonel Nichols to make another offer of our means and in consequence delivered to him personally a letter (a copy of which I enclose).

"In conjunction with Lieut. Colonel Nichols I have the honor to inform you that we have come to a determination to move off all the Indians and Troops under the Lieut. Colonel's orders from the protection of Pensacola (which protection was claimed by you) unless you put the Fort here and also those at the entrance of the harbour into the immediate possession of the English, in conjunction with the Spanish Forces under your Orders— We expect an answer in one hour."⁵ but he declined giving any answer to it without first consulting with his officers, and proposed that a Council of War should be held the next morning, wishing that the Captain of the Squadron should attend; but as no time could be lost, I persuaded him to hold it that evening. I am sorry to say that the Governor and his officers were determined we should not strengthen Fort Barrancas at the entrance of the harbour; nor would they do so, although the Ships Company of the *Hermes* had some time before made ready *Facines* for that purpose. They had no objections to our remaining in the Town to assist in the defence of it, or in Fort St. Maguel, but should consider it a breach of neutrality if the Lieut. Colonel should march to attack the advance of the American Army. On the Lieut. Colonel acquainting them with the information he had received that twenty five American Cavalry had positively been at the Barancas—they said that the only information they had received was that the tracts [*sic*] of horses feet had been seen, but they might have been those of Turks or Greeks, and not Americans; that it was

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 333–35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 343–47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

not in the power of the Governor to declare War. On his being asked when we should be allowed to attack the Enemy, he said, when they could be seen from St. Maguel. On such terms we declined having any more to do with him, that I should leave the place whenever I got everything embarked, which I hoped to be in three days, and as they wished that English Colours should not be hoisted in the Fort again with the Spanish, orders were given by the Lieut. Colonel to that effect. Every exertion was made during the 3rd, 4th and 5th in conveying the Indians and their Families over to the Indian side of the Bay. On the 4th a Picquet the Lieut. Colonel had placed, was cut off, and even then the Governor would not do anything to check the Enemy's advance. On the 6th the Enemy were fired on from the Fort St. Maguel. Lieut. Colonel Nichols remaining in the Fort till we were ready to embark the few men he kept with him, will inform you what happened there. The Governor now came to demand our assistance wanting the Ships Companies to be landed, and the Indians brought back; I told him I could have nothing more to do with him, that most of the 600 Warriors were already on their march for Appalachicola and that the Enemy had already got possession of a post that he should have defended; that from his conduct I was certain he had betrayed his trust, and as it was my duty to provide for the safety of the Troops and the ships under my orders, I should destroy the Barancas, and the Fort on Santa Rosa, embarking the Spanish Troops who chose to come off, whenever I saw the Enemy in possession of the Town.

By my directions the Fort on Santa Rosa was destroyed that Evening. In the night the Governor sent off the enclosed letter (asking for aid) which we declined giving any answer to, referring him to the conversation we had a short time before on the Wharf. On the 7th the Enemy with five guns and three thousand men commanded by General Jackson entered and took possession of Pensacola with little or no resistance. The Boats of the Squadron annoyed the Enemy so much in their movements from the Town to their Encampment, that they were obliged to bring three guns against them. I directed Captain Lockyer of the *Sophie* to run down to the Barancas with the *Shelburne* to prepare to spike the guns and destroy the large magazines of Powder and Stores when the signal was made for that purpose. The Fort of St. Maquel fired a few shot but I believe was given up on the night of the 7th as they had neither provisions nor water for one day. On the morning of the 8th Lieut. Colonel Nichols landed and sent off the Rear Guard of the Indians, and observing the Enemy march about two thousand men with three guns towards the Barancas, I weighed, directing Captain Lockyer to put his orders into execution, which was done by the time I arrived there and two hundred Spanish Troops with the Commander of the Barancas embarked. Captain Lockyer reports having rolled into the water and blown up three hundred double Barrels of Gunpowder—a large magazine of every sort of Ordnance Stores—two stores of provisions for five hundred men for one month spiked the guns destroyed the Carriages in the lower Fort blew up the Block-house and burned the Gun Carriages in the upper Fort.

To prove to you Sir, how improbable it was that the Spaniards would have defended it, they had not one Morsel of provisions in the Fort, and the Victualling Stores (more than musquet shot distance) must have been immediately taken possession of by the Enemy.

As it was necessary that the Squadron should remain a short time longer in harbour to prevent the Americans sending a force over to harrass the rear of the Indians; I felt it my duty to destroy a Fort that would have severely handled the

Ships in passing it—and we must have been exposed to a raking fire the whole time we were running out to the Bar.

In a report to the governor of Havana on November 9 Captain Gordon asserted that “if the Governor had allowed the Detachment and Indians under Lieutenant Colonel Nicholls’ command with the Seamen and Marines I could have landed from the Squadron to have strengthened the Barrancas in conjunction with the Spanish Troops; I am confident that General Jackson would soon have been obliged to have evacuated Pensacola for the want of provisions.”⁶

The British were never in the position of being able to take the initiative in the defense of Pensacola, for Captain Percy in a letter to Sir Alexander Cochrane of September 9, 1814, states, “I had promised the Captain General at the Havanna not to land on Spanish Territory without being requested to do so.”⁷

Thus the British claim that the inaction of the Spaniards, together with their unfounded jealousy, so played into the hands of General Jackson as to give him the easy conquest he might not otherwise have had.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 337–39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

THE PATTERN OF IMPERIALISM: A STUDY IN THE THEORIES OF POWER. By *E. M. Winslow*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 278. \$3.75.)

Mr. Winslow sets out to write about imperialism in the familiar sense of the extension of control over backward areas by modern "civilized" states. Before the end of the book is reached, however, he has equated imperialism with militarism and war, and his last chapter closes with an argument for nonviolent resistance in the manner of the late Mahatma Gandhi as the only remedy for these manifestations of the spirit of force. Peace as an end, he contends, can never be attained by the use of force (e.g., an international police force) as a means.

Such value as the volume may have for the historian will be found in Mr. Winslow's account of the development of critiques of imperialism. Critics of empire-building appeared in England almost as early as the planting of Virginia, but no philosophy of anti-imperialism developed before the late eighteenth century. While Adam Smith was not opposed to the possession of colonies as such, his attack on mercantilism undermined the chief economic motive for colonialism. Jeremy Bentham opposed colonialism as worthless in itself and as a breeder of war. John Stuart Mill anticipated Hobson and the socialists in connecting the colonial impulse with the declining rate of profits in the metropolis. John Atkinson Hobson, in his *Imperialism* (1902), attributed modern imperialism not to the essential nature of capitalism but to its abuses and saw a cure for imperialism in a removal of those abuses. The post-Marxian socialists divided over the issue of whether imperialism was an inevitable stage in the development of capitalism or merely a "policy" which capitalism might follow or might reject. Marx, it seems, could be read either way, and Rudolph Hilferding, who espoused the "policy" theory, and Rosa Luxemburg, who believed imperialism inevitable, could both claim orthodoxy. Lenin sided with Luxemburg on this point, holding that imperialism is "the monopoly stage of capitalism."

The author hints from time to time at a coming refutation of the economic interpretation of imperialism as exemplified in Hobson and the socialists. When the refutation comes, however, it proves to be no inductive study of the motives of expansion but partly an exercise in semantics and partly a mere endorsement of the conclusions of other scholars. "Economics," the author states (pp. 219, 221), "is concerned with the creation of value, not particular things, and the economic motive is directed to the creation of value, not particular things. . . . This does not by any means prevent our saying that nations desire oil fields and iron mines and that they go to war to obtain them. It only precludes our saying that the rea-

son for going to war—even assuming this to be the only reason—is economic.” Finally, the author asserts, accepting the reasoning of Professor Joseph A. Schumpeter, “that imperialism [like militarism and war] is an atavistic force, ancient in inception, decadent and self-conscious in an age of nationalism, yet still powerful enough to lord it over its rival, the upstart capitalism” (p. 229). While a wholesome antidote to overemphasis of the economic interpretation of imperialism, the volume is more provocative than convincing.

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JULIUS W. PRATT

DIPLOMATIC PRELUDE, 1938-1939. By *L. B. Namier*, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xvii, 503. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Namier has produced what is probably the best single-volume account yet available of the diplomatic history of the period immediately preceding the outbreak of war in 1939. The book was begun in 1940 as a comparative and critical analysis of such official collections of documents—the colored books—as had then appeared. Since that time the source material for the years 1938 and 1939 has been greatly increased and the author found it necessary to supplement the official collections of documents with information derived from the press and from interviews with participants in the events he relates. Also there have since become available the documents presented in evidence at the Nuremberg trials and the first of the flood of memoirs of the persons who made the history of those years.

The book does not alter the main outlines of the picture; it does supply additional evidence and new treatment of certain episodes, and the marshaling of the historical evidence, extensive, scattered, and sometimes conflicting as it is, has been admirably done.

Two maxims laid down by the author in the course of the book struck this reviewer as especially noteworthy for those who may make use of diplomatic documents of the most recent period, and others: (1) “A great many profound secrets are somewhere in print, but are most easily detected when one knows what to seek” (p. v), and (2) “Documents, like cats, have more than one life, or rather exist as a rule in more than one copy” (p. 434).

The book contains several supplementary studies in detail of episodes in the diplomatic history of the years preceding World War II. Two are of especial interest: “An Interloper in Diplomacy,” a study of the attempt of the Swedish businessman, Hr. Birger Dahlerus, to act as an intermediary between Berlin and London in the last days of August, 1939; and “France and Poland (1935-1939),” an account of the ups and downs of the Franco-Polish alliance in that period. Included in the latter study is a somewhat detailed account of the Franco-Polish military discussions which took place in May, 1939, on the occasion of the visit of the

Polish war minister to Paris, and which included negotiations for a Franco-Polish military protocol.

The point of view of this story of the diplomatic origins of World War II contains no hint of a new "revisionism." It may fairly be described as anti-German.

Possible further editions of Professor Namier's book will be awaited by all those interested in the field. These further editions will find it necessary to take into account the masses of additional evidence constantly being made public, especially the forthcoming large-scale publication of documents from the archives of the German foreign ministry now under way as a joint effort of the American, British, and French governments.

Kensington, Maryland

JAMES S. BEDDIE

THE ORIGINS AND CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II. By *Floyd A. Cave, et al.* With an Introduction by Sumner Welles. (New York: Dryden Press. 1948. Pp. xxvi, 820. \$4.75.)

THIS is a substantial symposium. It is a handsomely printed book, weighing almost three pounds. It has 804 pages of text, broken into 26 chapters by 12 contributors. There are 964 footnotes, well-annotated bibliographies, 18 excellent maps, and a comprehensive index. The book carries an introduction from the pen of Sumner Welles and is enriched by the use of many German documents seized by the Western Allies in 1945. Its avowed purpose is to present "... the detached attitude of an observer objectively viewing the tremendous struggle of contending forces" in our time.

To the reviewer the best chapters in the book are Glenn S. Dumke's "The Question of Reparations and Loans to Germany," Stefan T. Possony's "The Military Causes of World War II," and Raymond E. Lindgren's "Conflicts and Issues between the Super-Powers." In these chapters there is a happy blending of the topical and the chronological that will make them genuinely enlightening to the minds of students. In them the book achieves success in its endeavor "... to survey effectively the historical sequences leading to World War II and their immediate consequences."

Despite these excellent chapters and several others very like them, the volume has certain weaknesses. In the first place, the plan of organization implicit in the title means that there is nowhere any connected account of World War II itself. The events of the years between 1939 and 1945 are told in varying fashion and in frequently repetitious detail in several places throughout the book. In the second place, despite the extensive documentation and footnoting, there are in the bibliographies surprising omissions of excellent works and important sources. This is the more regrettable because in consequence the chapters on the First World War and on the U.S.S.R. contain statements that are highly dubious.

Finally, there are too many errors of fact and of emphasis. Such familiar items

as the negotiations for the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the signing of the Lateran Agreements, Washington's "Farewell Address," and the Declaration of the United Nations (pp. 123, 171, 345, and 778) are all cited under wrong dates. The ancillary organizations to the U.N. are incompletely listed. The ratio of pre-1939 European armaments as suggested on pages 399 and 430 certainly does not agree with the conclusions in the study made by General C. F. Robinson in 1947, entitled "Foreign Logistical Organizations and Methods." There is an overemphasis on the alleged accomplishments of the U.S.S.R. since 1917 and too little stress on the implacable malevolence and venomous propaganda which communism manifests vis à vis the Western world.

The Origins and Consequences of World War II is a praiseworthy effort to deal with an immensely intricate subject and period. Subsequent editions, however, would be improved by a rewriting along the lines suggested above. Such revision would also make possible the inclusion of much new material that has appeared since the book first went to press.

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J. DUANE SQUIRES

Ancient and Medieval History

THE CALENDARS OF ATHENS. By *W. Kendrick Pritchett* and *O. Neugebauer*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for American School of Classical Studies at Athens. 1947. Pp. xi, 115. \$5.00.)

THE history of the great days of ancient Athens was recorded in the pages of the great historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; but the contemporary administrative, financial, and commemorative documents inscribed on marble, while fairly numerous (1,086 included in Vol. I of the *Corpus* of Attic inscriptions), are few in proportion to those of later times. The story of the gradual decline of Athens after the defeat by Sparta was written by numerous historians of lesser repute, most of whose works, neglected by the medieval copyists, have either been lost or survive only in fragmentary quotations; but, in partial compensation, the proportion of contemporary documents vastly increases (13,247 included in Vols. II-III of the *Corpus*, completed in 1940). The present American excavations in the Agora alone have added 6,100 items, very few of which were absorbed in the *Corpus*. It is upon the interpretation of these broken marble documents, therefore, that we must chiefly rely for the details of Athenian history after 404 B.C.

One of the essential processes of interpreting such documents is the establishment of their dates and sequence; and for this, apart from internal (and often elusive) characteristics of handwriting and changes of formula, our chief reliance must be placed, at least in the case of administrative documents, upon the names of the successive archons and secretaries, the officers who sanctioned them. If lists of these officers had survived from antiquity our task would have been easier;

but the list of archons by Demetrius of Phaleron down to his own archonship in 308 B.C., and the list in the annals of Philochorus down to about 260 B.C., are both entirely lost, while the annalistic list by Diodorus of Sicily, which evidently once descended to 54 B.C., now breaks off with 301 B.C. A compilation of all our written evidence, however, made it possible to replace part of our loss with an almost unbroken list from 511 to 293 B.C. From this point onward everything was chaotic until W. S. Ferguson's discovery of the law of succession of the secretaries, which bears his name, enabled him and his followers, since 1898, to carry the list through the later centuries. But this research is still far from complete; and a chance discovery of a new inscription often results in considerable readjustment.

The dates within the years, and not infrequently the identification of the years themselves, depend upon the calendar formula which began to be employed in administrative decrees in 346 B.C., giving the day by the month and the day by the prytany (e.g., Thargelion 18 = Prytany IX 29). And the divergence between these two halves of the equation, frequently incommensurate—the prytanies being at first tenths, then twelfths, thirteenth, eleventh, twelfths, and thirteenth of the year in accordance with the historical variations in the number of tribes, while the lunar months were always twelve or thirteen in accordance with the (unfortunately not standardized) calendar intercalation—should theoretically be of tremendous assistance in deciding the exact dates. Unfortunately the condition of the stones is such that only rarely is the complete equation fully preserved; much usually depends upon restoration in the empty gaps, counting letters in the manner of a crossword puzzle, with the consequent intrusion of modern subjective opinion. To add to the confusion, just as in any mathematical equation involving two quantities one must be known, or discoverable, before the other can be ascertained, so here we must decide which of the two halves is known. Ever since Joseph Scaliger published his *De emendatione temporum* in 1583 all chronologists have agreed, with the frequent corroboration of astronomical records, that the lunar month or civil calendar half of the equation was the fixed standard upon which we must build.

The work now before us is the joint product of a collaborative investigation between a student trained by Meritt in Greek epigraphy (Kendrick Pritchett) and an expert in chronological problems of the ancient Near East (Otto Neugebauer). For a study of this sort, such collaboration would seem to offer great promise. As the cornerstone for their investigation, however, they have employed an entirely revolutionary principle: the prytany half of the equation is the fixed standard upon which we must build. They base this upon a somewhat general statement of Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, xliii, 2)—possibly a stenographer's interpretation—that in his time the first four prytanies each contained 36 days and the last six 35 days, making a total of 354 days in the year. Consequently, they assume that an ordinary year was always composed of $(4 \times 36) + (6 \times 35)$ days in

the period of the ten tribes, in that order, and of $(6 \times 30) + (6 \times 29)$ days in the two periods of the twelve tribes—the sequence could not be verified in this instance—and of $(3 \times 28) + (10 \times 27)$ days in the (first) period of the thirteen tribes, in that order. Similarly, they argue that an intercalary year of 384 days was always composed of $(4 \times 39) + (6 \times 38)$ days, in that order, in the period of the ten tribes, of (12×32) days in the period of the twelve tribes, and of $(7 \times 30) + (6 \times 29)$ days in the (first) period of the thirteen tribes. They argue that, besides years of 354 and 384 days, there were years of 353 and 355, and of 383 and 385 days (though only those of 354, 355, and 384 days are authenticated by the Athenian calendar system); in such cases the odd number would be attained by one day subtracted from or added to the last prytany.

In order to maintain a rigid prytany system, moreover, Pritchett and Neugebauer are forced to explain all discrepancies between the two halves of the equation as due to irregularities in the civil calendar. They might possibly have avoided some of these irregularities if they could have assumed that the prytany calendar was always independent of the civil lunar calendar, as was definitely the case during the period of experiment with the solar-senatorial year averaging $365 \frac{3}{10}$ days between 432 and 411 B.C. It was necessary to admit, however, that in later times the first day of the prytany calendar always coincided with the civil new year day and the new moon; this is attested most definitely by calendar equations very close to the beginnings or ends of Athenian years in thirty summers ranging over the period 340 to 125 B.C., and even later in 51 B.C. But between these new year days, Pritchett and Neugebauer are forced by their rigid prytany system to assume that the lunar months, instead of following one another in a fairly steady alternation of 29 and 39 days (breaking alternation approximately once in fifteen months), yielded wildly discrepant lengths. A sample test for a well-authenticated period of six years from 252 to 246 B.C., covering seventy-four months, would yield the following sequence of month lengths according to their interpretation of the calendar equations: $(3 \times 30) + (6 \times 29) + (7 \times 30) + (6 \times 31) + (3 \times 26) + (7 \times 30) + 31 + (3 \times 28) + 29 + (3 \times 30) + (4 \times 31) + 32 + (4 \times 27) + (5 \times 30) + (6 \times 29) + (8 \times 30) + (2 \times 29) + 31 + 28 + (2 \times 27)$ days. This intolerable confusion may be rectified by assuming that twice, where the discrepancies are exactly 10 days, the stonecutter mistook the number of deltas (tens) in his preliminary copy, just as a myopic predecessor is known to have done in three years toward the end of the fourth century, and also by rearranging the years on the basis of the civil rather than the prytany calendar.

A second instance seems even more conclusive. For Pritchett and Neugebauer overlook the fact that two astronomical observations for the nights of December 20/21 (Julian) in 295 and March 9/10 in 294 B.C., fixed by the Egyptian calendar and equated with the Athenian Posideon 25 and Elaphebolion 15, seventy-nine days apart and agreeing exactly with the moon—which they (p. 71) accept as valid

evidence of the reviewer's old contention that the year was ordinary—must be associated with an Athenian calendar equation of Elaphebolion 9, only six days earlier than the second observation and so dated March 4. Elaphebolion 9 in this year was the 15th day of the ninth prytany (*I. G.*, II², 646, 647), and so according to their rigid prytany system the 251st or preferably 253d day of the year; with 103 or preferably 101 more days to run, the next year would have begun on June 14 or 16, whereas the new crescent moon would not have been visible before the evening of June 21 and the actual new year day would have been June 22, six or eight days too late for the rigid prytany calendar, an impossibility as they would undoubtedly admit.

If, on the other hand, the months are laid out in accordance with the traditional alternation of 29 and 30 days, checked by means of the Metonic nineteen-year cycles (which Pritchett and Neugebauer disregard), the resulting dates according to the Julian calendar agree exactly with all the astronomical observations recorded in terms of the Athenian calendar, in 432, 425, 413, 383, 382 (two), 331, 330, 295, 294, 283 (two), 280, and 109 B.C. It would seem very strange indeed if, assuming the second or prytany half of the equation to have formed the known standard, all the civil calendar dates in the first half of the equation vacillated freely with the exception of those fortuitously recorded in astronomical observations, which agree exactly with the fixed Metonic system. The reviewer believes that we may continue to follow the traditional basis of the Metonic cycles, and that any deviations thereby caused in the second half of the equation may be explained by a natural tendency to prolong the term of the prytany for a day or two, on occasions, to take care of unfinished business.

No actual reconstruction of the course of the calendar through the centuries, or of its relation to the Julian calendar, is attempted by the authors; and, indeed, none would be possible on the basis of their theory. According to the reviewer's reckoning of 111,975 days from June 27 (Julian) in 432 to June 26 in 109 B.C. (solstice dates given in terms of the Athenian and of the immutable Egyptian calendars by a Milesian almanac), diminished by 18 days at the beginning and increased by 17 days at the end to reach the corresponding new year days, this period of 111,974 days between July 15 in 432 and July 13 in 109 B.C. would have been divided into 3,646 prytanies varying in length from 39 to 27 days each: $125 \times 10 = 1250$ (432–307 B.C.), $85 \times 12 = 1020$ (307–222), $21 \times 13 = 273$ (222–201), $1 \times 11 = 11$ (201–200), and $91 \times 12 = 1092$ (200–109 B.C.). But it would be quite impossible to make practical application of this scheme, and to determine the dates of known events in terms of the Julian or Gregorian calendar, without the aid which can only be found in the civil lunar calendar, this in turn checked every nineteen years by the known limits of the Metonic cycles (a "hidden assumption" according to the authors). With respect to the third century B.C., moreover, new evidence discovered since the publication of this book has altered

the dates of many of the archons and consequently the sequence of the years, the shifting of the years within the Metonic cycles in turn affecting the form of the cycles and hence the positions of the months and days within the years.

An intentional omission was the exclusion of the year 307/6 B.C., from which we have 14 calendar equations dating from the moment of disturbance caused by the change from ten to twelve tribes. This omission may have been due to the fact that the complicated calendar of this year presents a problem which has never yet been solved, though not from lack of effort. One striking fact, which might have altered the conclusions of Pritchett and Neugebauer, is that two of its inscriptions show that not only were two new tribes added, but also that the days of the last decade of the month were changed from forward to backward count, as Meritt demonstrated in 1935. Pritchett and Neugebauer now assume that backward count was employed consistently both before and after this date; but since the change from forward to backward count was expressly made in this year, as implied by the two inscriptions, it is difficult to understand how the count could have been backward previously as well as subsequently. Furthermore, an inscription of 326 B.C. is restored by Pritchett and Neugebauer to state that it is "the second day (after twenty), that is to say the ninth after twenty as one counts the days (backward from thirty)." This certainly means, if it means anything, that it was the 22d of the month by normal forward count, equivalent to $30 - 9 = 22$ (inclusively) by a new style of backward count, and they so interpret it. But this again is quite contrary to their own thesis that forward count was never employed at any time. Undoubtedly the inscription should be more properly restored to mean "the second day (before the waning moon), that is to say the ninth after twenty (counted forward)," in other words, the 29th of the month. Likewise the other inscriptions of the period 334-307 B.C. fit the calendar equations better if they are understood to be with forward count. Thus there was a transitional period, 334-307 B.C., during which the archaic count of the last decade backward from the waning moon was sometimes replaced by forward count from twenty, until in 307/6 B.C. the older system was reinstated by a compromise, which to us may seem contradictory, of counting backward, not from the waning moon, but "after twenty," so that the 22d of the month, for instance, was written as the 29th.

The book is full of interesting material and will certainly inspire renewed examination of the documentary evidence; though many of its conclusions, to the reviewer's mind at least, should be employed with caution. But we must be grateful to the authors for their insistence that, when backward count of the days "after twenty" had been definitely established (in the reviewer's opinion not until 306 B.C.), it was consistently observed without the intermittent vacillation to forward count which has been permitted in all other recent studies.

Columbia University

WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR

HISTOIRE DE L'ÉDUCATION DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ. By *Henri-Irénée Marrou*, Professeur à la Sorbonne. (Paris: Éditions du Seuil. 1948. Pp. 595.)

MUCH has been written on education in antiquity, yet there has long been need for a new survey assembling the results of the discoveries and special studies of the last fifty years. Marrou has performed this task excellently. Being primarily a classicist and historian of antiquity, he possesses a wide and up-to-date acquaintance with modern scholarship, and he has reflected upon the problems of education in general. The greater part of his book is, of course, devoted to schools, courses of study, methods of instruction, the share taken by the state and private individuals in the support and direction of schools, and the other day-by-day questions that face schoolmasters. Nevertheless, the author knows very well that the type of education which prevails in any society depends, in the final analysis, upon what that society regards as the ideal man. Many of Marrou's most stimulating and suggestive passages discuss these ancient ideals. Especially worth reading are the closing pages of the chapter on Homer, the chapter on Isocrates (which is much more sympathetic than most discussions of this man and his school), and the chapter on early Rome.

An introductory chapter, after sketching briefly the education of scribes in the ancient Orient, summarizes the course of cultural evolution in a formula often repeated in later chapters: as civilization progresses, rule passes from "noble warriors to scribes." The remainder of the book falls into three approximately equal parts, dealing respectively with classical Greece, the Hellenistic world, and Rome. In the first period, which was dominated by the aristocratic ideal of the Homeric hero, education consisted of sports, music, and poetry, in the order mentioned. Since the Greeks of Hellenistic times were an aristocratic minority in the world conquered by Alexander, they had to struggle hard to maintain their Greek character. Gymnasiums and theaters were built everywhere and became the outward symbols of Greek culture, but schools were the principal means of perpetuating it. Athletics and music gradually declined in importance, but the literary education given in Hellenistic schools was continued by Romans and Christians with surprisingly few changes. These schools passed on knowledge of classical civilization to the medieval and modern worlds.

Our principal criticism of Marrou's book is that his narrow conception of education had caused him to consider only the education that was provided for the youth of the upper classes in the Greco-Roman world. There is literary and archaeological evidence for apprenticeship and other forms of education for members of other social classes, but Marrou follows the ancient philosophers of education in largely neglecting such persons. He admits readily enough that the education he describes was narrowly aristocratic, but he seems blind to the grave consequences of this narrowness. Much of the information gathered and passed on from generation to generation by physicians, engineers, and artisans better deserves the name science than do the airy speculations of the pre-Socratics and

Plato, but ancient philosophers and schoolmasters looked down upon such knowledge as beneath them and their pupils, intellectually as well as socially. The work of Aristotle, who was first trained as a physician, suggests that if his predecessors had been a little less class conscious, they might have made greater progress in science. Moreover, the narrowly aristocratic character of ancient education entailed even greater disasters. As Marrou indicates, this system of education led eventually to rule by a caste of scribes; but who would be ruled by such Byzantine logothetes if he could help it? And while the scribes preserved most of what we know of ancient culture, it can be argued that the decline of ancient civilization was due in large part to them and to the failure of their educational system to educate the masses. These schools and scribes perpetuated culture only for an aristocratic few. It then happened that when these aristocracies were liquidated (as took place in Greece during the fourth and third centuries B.C., in Rome during the first century B.C. and again during the third century A.D.) civilization itself suffered irreparable blows. A more democratic form of education, mingling liberal and technical instruction and available to others than the leisured few, might have prevented such disasters.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION: AN INTERPRETATION. By *H. Frankfort*, Research Professor of Oriental Archaeology in the University of Chicago. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 172. \$3.00.)

MANY students of the history of religion have felt that there was some gross inadequacy in the well-known works on Egyptian religion. These accounts are thoroughly positivistic and, as Frankfort says, "ignore religion as a phenomenon *sui generis*." The work under review indicates an almost complete reversal in point of view.

Some will hold that Frankfort himself overworks a hypothesis now and then. Despite these reservations, however, he has taken an approach that holds real possibilities for the improvement of our understanding of the literature on the subject. One obstacle to our understanding of religious documents has been the basic assumption designated as "the developmental dogma." Frankfort calls it "an evolutionary bias." The possibilities in Frankfort's approach do not lie (as one is led to think he might contend) in denying the value of historicity and chronology entirely but in an attempt to show how the theology, in so far as ultimates were concerned, could explain and redefine beliefs and dogmas in terms of changing situations.

Frankfort insists that myth-making thought could follow a multiplicity of approaches without any feeling of inconsistency. The many gods were all immanent in nature—a nature alive from end to end. Here, his insistence on the unity and consistency of Egyptian thought is open to some of the objections noted by M. I.

Finley in his review of Frankfort's *Kingship and the Gods* (*Political Science Quarterly*, LXIII, 275-81). In the present work, the chapter on the state advances many positions taken in the earlier work. It is essentially an exposition of the theology of kingship.

As is well known, there is a fairly large body of ethical teachings and maxims in our Egyptian literature. Frankfort gives, in my opinion, one of the finest elucidations of these materials that we have anywhere.

The final chapter on literature and art is concerned primarily with the author's thesis concerning the significance of permanence or lack of change in Egyptian thought. One feels that he pushes this too far as a causative element in the culture. Is there much more involved than the absence of any dogma of "last judgment" or "end of time" or some similar belief that seems to give a sense of line or motion in later cultures?

As stated above, the work is significant in that it opens up a profitable avenue of approach to the understanding of our texts. These documents, in the past, have yielded largely only descriptive information of minor value.

University of Missouri

THOMAS A. BRADY

ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Volume I, NARRATIVE. Volume II, SOURCES AND STUDIES. By *W. W. Tarn*. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xi, 161; xiii, 477. \$3.50, \$6.50.)

AFTER the generation which had known Alexander had died out, no such thing as a favorable portrait of him appeared again for centuries, because literature was in the hands of Greeks, and Greeks were on the whole thoroughly hostile. Alexander himself, however, had taken care that his expedition should be properly recorded, for he brought along two secretaries to keep the Ephemerides, or Royal Journal, and a professional historian, Callisthenes, the nephew of Aristotle, whose duty it was to write a continuous account on the march. Some years later two members of the expedition—Aristobulus, a Greek architect and engineer, and the famous Macedonian general Ptolemy, founder of the Egyptian dynasty—wrote their own memoirs, relying in part on the earlier material. But of the four great schools that now guided thought, the Peripatetics hated Alexander for Callisthenes' death, and to some extent carried Alexandria with them. The Stoics also hated him, the Academy was neutral, the Epicureans indifferent. The ensuing picture of a blood-thirsty and degenerate despot whose achievements were due to luck and who was ruined at the end by the excess of his own fortune, still dominates the modern view of Alexander. Since inscriptions and other new material have never helped much, the task of the historian of Alexander is to examine and interpret texts written 300 to 500 years after his death and a very considerable body of fragments of earlier date, in the hope of working back to the primary writers. Source-criticism is the most powerful weapon of the

modern historian, its real business being to find, if possible, the original source, the beginning, of the statements made by secondary writers, or at least to get clear the school or type of thought which such source represented—and then to evaluate it.

Some of these problems, and with them an interpretation of Alexander, are the subject of the present magnificent work by Dr. Tarn. The two volumes differ from each other, being a biography and a monograph, and may be bought separately. The biography consists essentially of Tarn's chapters on Alexander in *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume VI, but the text has been corrected and to a large degree rewritten. It is short, as a biography of Alexander should be, and thus the great Macedonian is not buried under endless background and "epilogue." Tarn's purpose is to sum up, in "popular" form, the results of years of research, and needless to say, his book is utterly and solidly sound, with passages that are passionate and inspired. Alexander's great dream of the brotherhood of man, the most important thing about him, is unfolded in the course of the final chapter.

The second volume is a monumental monograph of the highest significance. The first part analyzes the so-called Vulgate and its sources and by an examination of Curtius and Diodorus proves that there never was any such thing as an Alexander-vulgate. In the second part—twenty-five learned appendixes—Tarn studies many of the matters which are vital for our judgment of Alexander: his army, deification, plans for world conquest, unity, etc. It is difficult to convey an impression either of Tarn's brilliant reconstruction or of the labor and learning involved. It is inevitable and proper that a great book should raise controversial questions, even including the interpretation of Alexander's fundamental character, his actions and plans. I regret, therefore, that I am restricted in my notice, but perhaps I may refer the interested reader to my long review forthcoming in the *American Journal of Philology*. These two volumes fittingly crown the career of one of the greatest scholars of our time.

Brown University

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

THE GREATER ROMAN HISTORIANS. By M. L. W. Laistner. [Sather Classical Lectures, Volume XXI.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1947. Pp. ix, 196. \$3.00.)

IN the twentieth century the "greater Roman historians" have suffered much from underspecialized compilers of handbooks on historiography and overspecialized pedants who have written on minutiae for the edification (or confusion) of their kind. As an antidote for these ills, Professor Laistner's book is strongly recommended. In these Sather Classical Lectures he has employed his profound knowledge to make a stimulating and mature appraisal of the major historians of antiquity who wrote in Latin.

After carefully setting the stage with a clear exposition of the standards and

goals of historical craftsmen in the Hellenistic and Roman Republican periods, Professor Laistner begins his third chapter with the first of the greater historians—Sallust; then follow two chapters on Livy, two on Tacitus, and a final chapter on Ammianus. The historians are appraised mainly with regard to their literary artistry and their competence as writers of history. All four pass their initial test with flying colors, but on matters of accuracy, impartiality, and sound judgment Professor Laistner would award the first place to Livy, with Tacitus a poor second (almost in a dead heat with Ammianus), and with Sallust trailing by several lengths. Tacitus' chief fault is that "the satirist . . . runs away with the historian," while "Sallust's merits as an artist have obscured, or made his readers willing to forget, his faults."

Not everyone, perhaps, will be in accord with Professor Laistner in elevating Livy so far above Tacitus or Sallust, but this is essentially a matter of opinion and taste. On the other hand, it is good to see Ammianus restored to the high position he so richly deserves. Without damaging his case by unrestrained enthusiasm, the unfortunate error of E. A. Thompson (*The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus*, Cambridge, 1947), Professor Laistner calmly demonstrates the worth of Ammianus in the most cogent manner. With Thompson, he rejects some of the older views on the sources of Ammianus; *i.e.*, that Ammianus relied on Magnus of Carrhae and an anonymous Greek writer (who arranged his account by summers and winters after the manner of Thucydides). Furthermore, he shows rather convincingly that for Ammianus Latin was not a foreign tongue, as many people have supposed.

It is debatable whether the first thirteen books of Ammianus "cannot have contained more than a compressed survey of two and one half centuries." It might be argued that internal evidence in the surviving books (references to events in the second and third centuries A.D.) indicates that the history of the period from Nerva to Diocletian, or even Constantine, was contained in the opening book or books and that several of the lost books (just preceding the fourteenth) dealt fully with a shorter period (A.D. 337–353?). It would have been out of keeping with the character and purpose of the Sather Classical Lectures to include a detailed discussion of this minor point, but it would also be interesting to have Professor Laistner's opinion on it.

University of Minnesota

TOM B. JONES

CHARLEMAGNE ET L'EMPIRE CAROLINGIEN. By *Louis Halphen*, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à la Sorbonne. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse collective, XXXIII.] (Paris: Albin Michel. 1947. Pp. xxvi, 532. 600 fr.)

THIS volume has a quality of novelty and freshness which is the result of its approach to the Carolingian period. The title can mislead: the book is not a general survey of Western history in the eighth and ninth centuries, nor a biography

of Charlemagne, nor anything that would be readily suggested by its place in the vast series in which it appears. Professor Halphen follows the events of two centuries in their relation to a definite, central theme. Between 700 and 900, certain new concepts developed in the West, bearing on the nature and ends of social organization: notably, the notion of Christendom in a sense inclusive enough to give purpose and meaning to state as well as church, and to imply political and cultural as well as ecclesiastical unity. Within the frame of this idea, as the author says, "Europe was born"; it marked a decisive step in the growth of what we speak of today as the Western Tradition. And with this concept, to which other secondary ideas were gradually attached, such as the revival in name of a Roman Empire, came problems, chiefly that of locating authority in this primarily Christian society, which would influence political events for centuries.

A theme like this immediately suggests a label. But if this volume is, in its own way, a study in political theory, it is not in the form we connect with that label. It does not mean the abstraction of ideas from their historical context, and an examination of their origins and development largely in terms of their own possibilities and modes of behavior. What such treatment always emphasizes is a truth, but a partial truth: that general ideas have a kind of life of their own. What such treatment obscures (though it usually acknowledges this principle) is that many of the more influential ideas about man and society develop their form and their influence in a process of close interaction with events; human personalities are the medium of interaction, and politicians as well as professional theorists are included among these personalities. A study of the interaction can throw light both on the ideas and the events, but such studies are not often made.

This gives Halphen's book its distinctive flavor. Historians have long recognized the importance of Carolingian political concepts, and have isolated them for examination of their origins and of their development in articulate form. But no other historian, to my knowledge, has treated these ideas wholly at the level where they mesh with events. Perhaps this is due to Halphen's background; he is primarily what used to be called a "scientific" historian, concerned with carefully describing the linkage of historical facts, and with the cautious analysis of cause and effect. Ideas, for him, exist as a part of the total process which constitutes history, and he is not interested in separating them from that context. Although his focus is centered on political and social concepts, much the greater part of the detail in his book concerns wars, conquests, diplomacy, court rivalries, administrative problems, and personalities—evidently because he believes that these are essential for explaining the shape and role of major concepts. And the reader is likely at the end to share this belief.

In terms of his main theme, the work falls into two parts. The first deals with the emergence of the great central concept of a Christian social unity in which the state is functional to religious ends. This concept came into being during a half century, not as the result of work by theorists or writers but through a logic of

events which implied the concept. One order of these events was the conquest of nearly all of Latin Christianity by the first great Carolingians, which created a Christendom in fact. Another was the increasing importance put, for dynastic political reasons, on the ceremony of consecration by the Carolingian usurpers. Still another major factor was the personality of Charles the Great himself: heroic and successful defender of Christianity against the pagans; absolute master of church and state; reader of St. Augustine and capable of catching from Augustine (whether by misinterpretation or not) a dramatic vision of his own role as ruler of the Christian people. Everything suggested the theory with which we are familiar—and yet, by 813, that theory was still not explicitly formulated, and existed only in fragments of unconnected phrases. The crystallization of the theory came, and only gradually, in the next fifty years and owed much to the personality of Louis the Pious and to the circumstances of his unhappy reign.

So far, we have been looking at the birth of an idea, and it is a case—perhaps one of the most clear-cut in history—where the idea is evoked and almost shaped by events. From Louis the Pious' reign on to the Carolingian downfall, the record suggests another set of relationships. The vision of a unified Christian society has solidified in words; it has become a "theory," and in this form begins to play a part in the world of concrete issues and practical politics. This does not mean a dominant, independent role; its part is dependent on the selfish interest of factions in church and state, or on the use it serves ambitious men in a period marred by ignorance and fanaticism, in a society that was dissolving in the first stages of feudal disorder. But the idea, despite all contact with the brutal facts of existence, despite all mishandling for partisan purposes, survives the complete and apparently final wreck of the Carolingian empire which had evoked it. No other presentation that I have read of the barren civil wars and repellent anarchy of the later ninth century has given so much significance to that period, or shown how much interest it may have for the student concerned with the general problem of how ideas enter into the process of history.

The notion of Roman Empire was an appendage of the larger concept of Christian unity, and an appendage which was at first (whatever its later importance) almost accidental. Here, a theme of Halphen's earlier Carolingian research takes its place. Charlemagne needed—or at least wanted—a firmer basis for his supervisory control of Rome and the papal territories. For that end only he assumed the Roman title, and he set so little store on it that his plans for regulating the succession to his lands made no reference to an emperor. The accident of succession brought all the territory to Louis; the title of emperor became of increasing importance in his reign; and during the ninth century the concept of a Christian society fused gradually with the hope or ambition of political unity under a "Roman" emperor.

And as a last suggestion of future possibilities, once the dominant concepts had formed and had captured men's imagination, we can trace through the ninth century an increasing importance of the church and the papacy. There is

little in that century's record to support a view that ideas must exert logical influence on events; more often than not, the use made of the theory of Christian social unity was a patent violation of its (to us) most logical import. But there is, from 830 on, an occasional glimpse of what the papacy might be in a society which used the word *ecclesia* as its most comprehensive term for self-description. Between Nicholas I and Hildebrand lie two centuries of anarchy for church as for state, but the possibility of papal leadership of Christendom, implicit in the concept of a completely Christian society, is at least foreshadowed by Nicholas. Logic will have its partial revenge, and the revenge will color later centuries of European history.

Harvard University

CHARLES H. TAYLOR

STATUTY KAZIMIERZA WIELKIEGO [The Statutes of Casimir the Great].

Reconstructed by *Oswald Balzer* and edited, from the posthumous manuscript, by *Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk*, *Michał Szczaniecki*, *Stefan Weymann*. [Studies in the History of Polish Law, Volume XIX.] (Poznań: Society of the Friends of Science. 1947. Pp. xxxviii, 527.)

THIS big volume is typical of the rapid rebirth of Polish historiography, completely silenced under German occupation. A young generation of scholars, in co-operation with those of their teachers who survived, is continuing all prewar activities which were interrupted for six years. Among many other collections, the well-known "Studies in the History of Polish Law" are being published again under the direction of Professor Zygmunt Wojciechowski, who in 1933 replaced the founder of the "Studies," the famous Oswald Balzer; and three of Wojciechowski's disciples have edited in the latest volume a posthumous work of Balzer himself: his reconstruction of King Casimir the Great's (1333-1370) codification of Polish law.

The task of both author and editors was unusually difficult, a real test of their scholarship, thoroughness, and technical ability. The Statutes of Casimir the Great, one of his most outstanding achievements, were first issued exactly six hundred years before the publication of this reconstruction, in 1346-47, at two conventions held in Wiślica and in Piotrków, each of them approving a different draft, for Little Poland and for Great Poland, respectively. Whether these two texts, together with subsequent additions, were ever combined in one general code of law for the whole kingdom remains one of the many controversial problems regarding the Statutes discussed by the most prominent Polish scholars during the last century. Balzer himself studied them for fifty years, only to realize that they could not be definitely settled unless the lost original of the Statutes could be reconstructed by carefully comparing the existing copies. When he died, he had completed that undertaking only for the Wiślica draft, but even so he had had to compare the wording of 106 articles in 33 different versions, most of them

manuscripts, all of which he re-examined although a modern printed edition was available. In the earliest of the preserved copies, made in 1400, he discovered no less than 547 errors, and yet he listed in the thousands of footnotes what he considered the mistakes or distortions of all copies. He thus enabled the reader, using his reconstructed text, to check every single word and to control Balzer's choice of the most reliable and authentic version.

The editors have succeeded in presenting all the material, including the author's commentaries, in the clearest possible form. They have also explained the origin and method of the work in an excellent preface, translated into French, and since the Statutes themselves were written in Latin, the main parts of the book can be read by those who do not understand Polish. Balzer's own introduction, which is a survey of the legislation under Casimir's predecessors, and his study of the relationship among the manuscripts are published in Polish only. All students of medieval law and comparative constitutional history will hope to have from the editors a similar reconstruction of the Piotrków draft and final conclusions based upon Balzer's pioneer work and upon their own interpretations.

Fordham University

O. HALECKI

THE MERCHANT CLASS OF MEDIEVAL LONDON (1300-1500). By *Sylvia L. Thrupp*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. xix, 401. \$6.00.)

"THIS book," as the author makes clear, "is in no sense a general economic or institutional history of medieval London. Its intention is simply to explore the social context in which the activities of London merchants took place." It is concerned with the merchant class of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the emphasis, dictated by the records themselves, on the latter century. Its primary value lies in the careful documentation it provides for generalizations already made by earlier economic historians and in its possible use as an almanac for social and economic history. It is, therefore, not a book that presents any fresh point of view of great importance, nor are its major findings, which relate to the question of social mobility, particularly surprising. These findings indicate that, although the merchant class itself was stable throughout the period 1300-1500, the families composing it were constantly changing. Movement out of the class, termination of the male line and the absence of the practice of adoption found on the Continent, business conditions, practices, and attitudes of the class itself, all contributed to instability.

Miss Thrupp considers the following aspects of the London merchant class: its economic and social position within its own community and its control of city government; wealth and standards of living, conduct of life; its fluidity; trade and gentility. The final chapter attempts to define "the middle strata of the nation" from contemporary points of view, to fit the merchant class into these strata,

and to offer some conclusions. Three useful appendixes contain a biographical list of aldermanic families, information as to London owners of lands and rents assessed in 1436 at the annual value of £5 and over, and a list of occupations and places of residence of the fathers of apprentices during the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

Miss Thrupp has undertaken a formidable task in attempting to deal with even a fraction of the incredibly large number of scattered source materials extant. The result is a kaleidoscopic picture of two hundred years of London merchants into which the reader is forced to do his own research. The book is so overburdened with facts, figures, and quotations from documents that it is practically impossible to come away from it with anything more than what may be called an amorphous impression. Nowhere can the reader find a fixed point of reference, not even chronologically; and some point of reference is essential to adequate comprehension of the weighty bulk of factual information. Social and economic history does not have to be written in this fashion. We have very good examples of delicate and readable interweaving, imagination, and interpretation in the works of those to whom Miss Thrupp pays homage in her preface, Professors Power and Postan, and in the writings of Unwin and Tawney. Miss Thrupp indubitably has at her fingertips a vast amount of laboriously won information, and it is to be hoped that she will now undertake a smaller, more interpretative book to do for her subject what Miss Power did for the wool trade in medieval England.

Bryn Mawr College; Swarthmore College

G. P. CUTTINO

Modern European History

THE LANCASHIRE ELIZABETHAN RECUSANTS. By J. Stanley *Leatherbarrow*, Rector of Areley King's, Worcestershire. [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, Volume 110, New Series.] (Manchester: Chetham Society. 1947. Pp. xi, 176.)

THE author's purpose in this study of recusancy in Elizabethan Lancashire is to explain the failure of the Elizabethan church to win over from Catholicism more than a small fraction of the people of Lancashire. He finds a first reason in the inaccessibility of the countryside and in the conservatism and contumacy of the people. A second was the laxity and indifference of the officials, from the lord lieutenant down to the justice of the peace, who failed to search out and punish the recusants. Furthermore, many officials were suspected Catholics or were lukewarm toward the Elizabethan settlement. A third cause of Catholic strength lay in the resoluteness and daring of the priests, many of them Lancashiremen trained on the Continent. Finally, there was a shortage of preachers to instruct the people and to win them over to the new faith. The reviewer is of the opinion that there was no absolute shortage of preachers, but that too many of them preferred the

London area, where the remuneration was better and where there was already a strong sympathy for their work. The city records of London abound with references to payments made to "poor unbeneficed preachers." The author might have added other reasons. Lollardism never took hold here as it did in the south, and so there was not that preparation for the Reformation that London particularly had had. Then, too, Lancashire was rural and its interests were not challenged by the sea power of Spain as were those of the southeast. Many a squire in Middlesex, Kent, Essex, or Suffolk invested in the trading companies of London and many a London merchant purchased a manor in the country near the capital. The southern squires supported the Elizabethan state because it challenged the sea power of Spain, and the challenge itself, through the taking of prizes, was profitable to them. No such interest in the religious war with Spain influenced the Lancashire squires. In Lancashire, too, as in other counties, many of the church appointments were in private hands.

The author fails completely to see Catholicism as a factor in foreign relations in the sixteenth century, and he insists that the Jesuits and those to whom they ministered were simply interested in freedom of worship. This, of course, is naive, but what is amazing is the author's refusal to accept the evidence he uncovers. Under examination Robert Middleton, a seminary priest, "would not answer whether he had persuaded those who were reconciled to the Roman Catholic Church to support the Queen's enemies should the Pope order the invasion of England," and "would not answer whether she ought to be Queen of England notwithstanding the Pope's excommunication." Of this Mr. Leatherbarrow can only say: "From such sparse materials we have to judge the vexed question as to whether the seminaries were encouraging treason" (p. 144). His judgment, reiterated time and again, is that they were not. It seems to the reviewer of no consequence that Campion, at least, may have had no interest in foreign relations and politics. His work made him a tool of those who sought the enthronement of Mary Stuart and of those who hoped for a Spanish invasion and planned that it should land in Lancashire.

To American scholars who must make the long trip to England to work on manuscript materials, it must be a matter of wonder that British students already on the ground do not avail themselves of the rich stores to be found in their own repositories. This study of Lancashire recusants depends entirely upon published materials. No search was made in the Bodleian Library, the British Museum, the Public Records Office, the Lambeth Palace Library, nor even for private collections in the county of Lancaster. Such a search would have modified the study considerably. For example, an examination of the Exchequer records in the Public Records Office, particularly the Declared Accounts, the Supplementary Accounts, and the Recusant Rolls, would have shown the author that fines for recusancy were not "an inexhaustible source of wealth" (p. 53). Among the Domestic State Papers for the reign of Elizabeth there are items in the Addenda

volumes which should have been examined, and the Foreign State Papers would have yielded up much information on Lancashire recusants abroad. A chapter on "Missionaries and Martyrs" is based chiefly upon Evelyn Waugh's amateurish and uncritical *Edmund Campion*, written partly to commemorate the rebuilding of Campion Hall at Oxford and partly to express Waugh's gratification at being converted to Roman Catholicism. Mr. Leatherbarrow shows little acquaintance with twentieth century historical scholarship, and insists that Protestant historians have willfully colored their interpretation of Elizabeth's reign. The editing of the footnotes is carelessly done.

The Chetham Society has published a number of worth-while contributions to historical scholarship. This last is not one of them.

Montana State University

MELVIN C. WREN

COLLECTION DU CENTENAIRE DE LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848.

(Paris: Presses universitaires de France. 1948.) ÉTIENNE CABET ET LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE 1848. By *Pierre Angrand*. (Pp. 79. 80 fr.) LES FOURIÉRISTES ET LES LUTTES RÉVOLUTIONNAIRES DE 1848 À 1851. By *Félix Armand*. (Pp. 83. 80 fr.) EUGÈNE SUE ET LA SECONDE RÉPUBLIQUE. By *Pierre Chaunu*. (Pp. 68. 80 fr.) KARL MARX ET LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848. By *Auguste Cornu*. (Pp. 74. 80 fr.) PROUDHON ET LA RÉVOLUTION DE 1848. By *Édouard Dolléans* et *J.-L. Puech*. (Pp. 77. 80 fr.) L'ABOLITION DE L'ESCLAVAGE (27 AVRIL 1848). By *Gaston-Martin*. (Pp. 64. 80 fr.) LAMARTINE EN 1848. By *Henri Guillemin*. (Pp. 89. 100 fr.) DES ATELIERS NATIONAUX AUX BARRICADES DE JUIN. By *Charles Schmidt*. (Pp. 67. 80 fr.) LES FEMMES EN 1848. By *Édith Thomas*. (Pp. 78. 80 fr.) LOUIS BLANC. By *Jean Vidalenc*. (Pp. 68. 80 fr.)

READING these ten studies which concern themselves chiefly with the social aspects of France's 1848 revolution, one finds certain well-established generalizations reconfirmed. That critical events centered in Paris and that Paris played a preponderant role, that there had been inadequate preparation for the social readjustments which were urged, that social reformers put undue weight upon political implements—all these come out again and again. One of the familiar generalizations which is most dramatically (and unconsciously) made is that of the unreadiness of all groups—revolutionary and nonrevolutionary—for what happened. They were unprepared in their thinking, let alone their planning, and the inability of each group to face up to the demands of the group on its immediate left provided the raw stuff of the counter-revolution. Between February and June, 1848, if not between February, 1848, and December, 1851, confusion made his masterpiece. This is a matter in which the several authors under review are in pretty general agreement. I say pretty general agreement because, while each author

is likely to point out his particular chief character as uniquely clear-headed, practically every author asserts that all other characters were wandering in an unlit maze.

Beyond this point there is little in common between book and book. Moreover there is—with two notable exceptions—little that is new. For this collection is a collection, not a series, and a collection of general statements, not of brief monographs. Editorial control seems to have ended when such matters as general subject matter, length of the manuscript, and the non-inclusion of footnotes and bibliography had been settled. The books have these characteristics in common and there similarity and sequence ends. Each is a little entity unto itself with its own orientation, philosophy, and even method. Often between book and book there are wide disparities in interpretation and presentation. Where Guillemin presents Lamartine as the coolest and best-balanced man of the revolution, other writers depict him in quite a different light. Where Dolléans and Puech strive for a calm and dispassionate objectivity in their treatment of Proudhon, Felix Armand surges forth from a Marxian base to condemn the Fourierists for being utopians. With great care and attention to new material, the old master, Charles Schmidt, explores and describes new facets of the Workshops and the June Days, while Jean Vidalenc skims over Louis Blanc from time-worn sources. In Pierre Angrand's study of Cabet and Gaston-Martin's study of the abolition of slavery there is as much that is solid and careful as there is little in Chaunu's work on Eugène Sue and Edith Thomas' work on the women of 1848.

The want of rigorous editing thus seems to recapture the confusion that all authors find characteristic of 1848 itself. The general reader who will be guided to a single volume in the collection by its title may fall upon something not fitted to his taste or purposes. For example, he may find Schmidt too specialized, Vidalenc too trivial, and Armand too sententious. On the other hand the devotee of '48 who reads this collection as a whole (not merely these ten studies but the seven reviewed in the October issue of the *American Historical Review*) will find that he has taken much from the very diversity of approach. He will not have added much to his store of fact, but he will almost certainly have broadened the perspective with which he may view new fact in the future.

Yale University

SHERMAN KENT

PAGEANT-MASTER OF THE REPUBLIC: JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *David Lloyd Dowd*. [University of Nebraska Studies, New Series, No. 3.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 205.)

THIS volume is an important contribution to a phase of the French Revolution that has generally been neglected. The author's aim is to trace David's role as propagandist of the French Revolution, but this also involved a study of the de-

velopment of the idea of the use of art for propaganda, analysis of the artistic forms used, and appraisal of the effect of this artistic propaganda. Biographical material and art criticism are skillfully subordinated to the main theme. No future biographer of David should overlook the bibliographical analysis which provides an invaluable guide to the biased volumes that have heretofore appeared. The results of extensive research are presented in eminently readable prose, thoroughly documented, with seventeen illustrations, and a fifty-two page bibliographical section whose scope transcends the specific topic and provides a valuable guide to French Revolutionary sources and discerning appraisal of a century and a half of historical literature.

The first chapter depicts the development of David as an artist before the Revolution and of public reaction to his neoclassicism. By 1789, "David was the most powerful as well as the most famous artist in all France" (p. 20). The second chapter describes the transformation of David into a propagandist of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, with special analysis of his "The Oath of the Tennis Court," which Dr. Dowd considers most representative of David's revolution in painting. The next chapter describes the great fetes designed and executed under the supervision of David, from the Fete of the Federation in 1790 through that in honor of the regiment of Chateaufieux in April, 1792. These festivals "became the living expression, the external manifestation of the cult of the Revolution, organized in accordance with the formula 'of the people, by the people, for the people'" (p. 66). Discussion of public reaction to the various fetes is an important contribution made by Dr. Dowd. Chapter iv sketches the role of David during the Terror, as a Jacobin member of the National Convention, and as virtual dictator of the arts. Historians will welcome the results of Dr. Dowd's subsequent research on the political role of David during this period, especially as a member of the Committee of General Security. The final chapter demonstrates David's versatility by description of his funeral, triumphal, and religious fetes, plans for public monuments and the beautification of Paris, his cartoons and caricatures, and his portraits of contemporaries. The fetes, in which most of the arts are utilized and the masses participated, remain David's greatest propaganda vehicle—"the first modern large-scale use of political pageantry" (p. 77). While neoclassicism had appeared before David, and the monarchy had used art as propaganda, "However, it was David's forceful mind, virile talent, and revolutionary spirit which forged neoclassic art into a potent propaganda weapon—the 'Sword of the Revolution'" (p. 142). This volume should attract not only historians and art critics but also a large reading public.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

LAKANAL THE REGICIDE: A BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL
STUDY OF THE CAREER OF JOSEPH LAKANAL. By *John Charles*

Dawson. (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 213. \$5.00.)

THE politicians of the French Revolution still eclipse the "workers" but patient and scholarly biographers like Professor Dawson are helping to rectify this injustice. Joseph Lakanal (1762-1845), though a secondary figure, fully merits this excellent book-length study of a worker. His services in the National Convention, in the Council of Five Hundred, and under Napoleon speeded vital reforms in education, reforms that contributed more to human progress than all the orations of Robespierre. Lakanal was president of the Committee of Public Instruction; he helped to organize the Institut de France; he served as secretary in the section for moral and political sciences; he secured, almost singlehanded, the adoption of Claude Chappe's visual telegraph; and he labored for years to extend the use of the metric system. During his exile in the United States (1816-1837) he served for fourteen months as president of the College of Orleans and was considered for the presidency of the University of Alabama. After his return to France he was elected president of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, but declined the honor, and died in Paris in 1845. Few careers illustrate more effectively that faith in the "union of science and statecraft" that was a distinguishing trait of the Revolutionary ethos.

The earnest academician is seldom happy in politics. As a *conventionnel*, Lakanal felt himself impelled to vote for the death of Louis XVI, a decision that marked him for life as a regicide. Napoleon distrusted him as an ideologist and Lakanal distrusted Bonaparte as a despot. Yet he accepted the Legion of Honor, and he served the emperor in minor roles until the Bourbon Restoration, when he fled to America. There he became involved, obscurely, in a plot to free Napoleon from St. Helena and to make Joseph Bonaparte emperor of Mexico, unrealistic projects that came to nothing. Lakanal, it is clear, was deficient in political acumen and diplomatic finesse.

By collating the published material and combing the archives of France and America Dr. Dawson has constructed a penetrating, objective, and readable biography that is certain to interest students of the Revolutionary era. Lakanal's personality was somewhat cold and colorless, but he emerges as an authentic and understandable character, an idealistic and unselfish man with unusual ability, integrity, and energy. The style and structure of the biography are well suited to its subject for it is orderly, concise, analytical, and admirably documented. There is a seven-page bibliography and adequate index, and the University of Alabama Press is to be congratulated on the careful editing, attractive typography, and pleasing format.

Columbia University

GEOFFREY BRUUN

NAPOLÉON ET L'INDUSTRIE FRANÇAISE: LA CRISE DE 1810-1811.

By *Odette Viennet*. Préface de Marcel Dunan. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1947. Pp. vi, 341. 450 fr.)

IN the history of French industrial and commercial enterprise, the Revolutionary period marks a decisive turning point. Not from an economic point of view, for the machines that were soon to work spectacular transformations had already made their first inroads under the monarchy: the turmoil of the Revolution merely slowed their arrival. But, socially, this was a period of upheaval: the whole body of entrepreneurs and *chefs d'entreprise* who formed the directorate as it were of French business was almost swept clean. Thanks, on the one hand, to the disappearance of even the strongest established interests, and, on the other, to the appearance of numerous new ways and byways to wealth—speculation in *assignats*, purchases of *biens nationaux*, fat and too often corrupt war contracts—it was an age of *nouveaux riches*. This colorful, heterogeneous group of parvenus—jack-of-all-trade speculators like Jacques Bidermann, mushroom industrialists like Richard-Lenoir, war contractors like Ouvrard—forms the supporting cast of Miss Viennet's drama. Napoleon is the star.

The book begins with a study of the emperor's dual policy of assistance to and supervision of industry, followed by brief discussions of the businessmen as a group and of the geographical pattern of French industry. The rest of the work is devoted to the depression of 1810-1811, a depression born in excessive speculation, nurtured by the impoverishment of the European market, and capped by the scorched harvests of 1812, the "year of the comet."

Miss Viennet's thesis is unfortunately somewhat hard to pin down, perhaps because there are apparently two theses. In the first place, the author maintains that the fundamental cause of the crisis lay not in the increasing scarcity of the imported raw materials indispensable to French manufacture but in overproduction aggravated by the ever-diminishing purchasing power of vassal Europe (p. 201). Yet the case history of the crisis would seem to belie this explanation. As the writer herself tells it, the depression was in its origins primarily commercial and financial (p. 131). Its first symptom was the collapse of middlemen and speculators, all of whom had gained quick fortunes in a "big bull market" only to find that whatever goes up must eventually come down, at least part of the way. It was only later that industry was caught up in the vicious circle of a contracting economy. In the last analysis, anyhow, this question could only be resolved by a detailed study of price fluctuations, and it is here, perhaps, that *Napoléon et l'industrie française* is at its weakest. It would seem that such a study would be the indispensable foundation for a work of this kind, but Miss Viennet has not attempted it. (Cf. on this point p. 131 n.1.)

The second thesis is perhaps even more disputable. The author is inclined on the whole to accept Napoleon's proud boast: "*C'est moi qui ai créé l'industrie*

française." If by "creation" is meant such two-edged gifts as subsidies, high tariffs, and similar hothouse methods of cultivation that have been at once the salvation and bane of French business since the seventeenth century, then Napoleon was certainly no more than one more in a long line descending from Colbert. And it is highly questionable whether the faded memories of martial *gloire* compensated the French economy for its valetudinarian condition at the end of the imperial adventure.

In general, however, Miss Viennet's work is a solid contribution to the relatively unexploited field of French economic history in the nineteenth century. The emphasis on the role of the new generation of entrepreneurs is especially welcome in view of the common tendency of economic historians to see their field only in terms of statistics and impersonal trends. It is well written, with perhaps a little too much striving for effect (*cf.* p. 42), and firmly based on a careful and impartial study of the pertinent sources, with particular emphasis on the official archives. The definitive story of French industry under the empire and even of the crisis of 1810-1811 is not yet written, but Miss Viennet has taken us a long way in that direction.

Harvard University

DAVID S. LANDES

THE SPANISH STORY: FRANCO AND THE NATIONS AT WAR. By Herbert Feis. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. x, 282, vi. \$3.50.)

THE MASQUERADE IN SPAIN. By Charles Foltz, Jr. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 375. \$4.00.)

A PORTRAIT of modern Spain is not a pretty one no matter who paints it. Neither Charles Foltz, jr., one-time chief of bureau for the Associated Press in Madrid, nor Herbert Feis, member of the State Department's Iberian Peninsula Operating Committee, gives a very happy picture of Generalissimo Franco's Spain during the war. Both show the cunning Caudillo promising privately his undying devotion to Hitler and Mussolini while publicly extracting the necessary oil and food from the democracies.

Mr. Feis devotes himself to the wartime relations with Franco, from the time that the Allies were concerned lest Spain join the Axis in open belligerence to the period when Franco had been able to ride out the storm confident that the second war had ended merely to usher in a third war between Russia and the democracies, when he would be indispensable. Mr. Feis writes lucidly and often brilliantly, and uses many original documents to reconstruct the story.

The importance of a neutral Spain to us was obvious. When France was overrun there was fear that German troops would aid in the taking of Gibraltar, thus closing the Mediterranean route to the Allies. Such a plan had been worked out but dalliance and changing events finally prevented its becoming a reality. However, so

fearful were we of that possibility that we made our landing in Africa on the hazardous Atlantic side rather than on the more favorable Mediterranean shores. The creation of the Bureau of Economic Warfare recognized that essential aid to the enemy from economic sources would cost many American lives, and, furthermore, such diversion meant a denial to us of full supplies. In attempting the establishment of the United States Commercial Corporation, the purchasing agencies encountered a good deal of reluctance on the part of Jesse Jones, then Federal Loan Commissioner and chairman of the board of directors of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Ultimately after more than a year of what Mr. Feis calls badgery, a corporation was set up in 1942 and began active competition with the Germans for the Spanish wolfram supplies. Wolfram is known as tungsten in this country and, of course, is used to harden metals. Portugal had a contract with the Germans which we could not get them to break. But the story in Spain was a different one. We bought mines, bid up the price, and denied Spain needed oil. The battle to gain control of the wolfram supply and to make Spain impose a boycott on Germany is an extremely interesting chapter of American diplomatic history. Ultimately we all but achieved our goal except for Mr. Churchill's intervention when it seemed that a public break between Britain and the United States would do greater harm than to bring Franco to his knees.

Mr. Foltz has written in some ways, the most interesting and revealing book on Franco's Spain that has appeared in recent years. He writes from personal observation, having traveled over much of Spain during the period after 1937, and also from wide reading and the examination of many documents. Mr. Foltz has the happy faculty of bringing people to life and his book should be required reading for those modern Americans who would like us to embrace Franco. Mr. Foltz's primary contention is, irrespective of the character of the government of Spain, that a Spanish "Family" will dominate. This Family consists of church, army, land-owners, and industrialists. Mr. Foltz contends that the Family has ready, as substitutes for Franco, generals acceptable to the Republicans or the Monarchists, and for that matter any other type of government, except Communists, that might come into being. He feels that the present regime is close to economic collapse and that some form of intervention by the United States is necessary. If we do not intervene actively, he feels that the ERP should not be given to the Spanish oligarchy.

Both books have excellent indexes and *The Masquerade in Spain* has map end papers.

New York City

JOSEPH A. BRANDT

STAAT, BÜRGER, MENSCH: DIE DEBATTEN DER DEUTSCHEN NATIONALVERSAMMLUNG 1848/9 ÜBER DIE GRUNDRECHTE. By Herbert Arthur Strauss. [Berner Untersuchungen zur Allgemeinen Geschichte, Heft 15.] (Aarau: Verlag H. R. Sauerländer & Co. 1947. Pp. 136.)

BERLIN 1848: ZUR HUNDERTJAHRFEIER DER MÄRZREVOLUTION IM AUFTRAGE DES MAGISTRATS VON GROSS-BERLIN. Dargestellt von *Ernst Kaeber*, Direktor des Stadtarchivs. (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag. 1948. Pp. 207.)

THE polemic waged by Meinecke and Brandenburg in the pages of the *Historische Zeitschrift* some thirty years ago on the decisive factor in the liberal movement which culminated in the German Revolution of 1848 illuminated the fundamental polarity characteristic of the movement and paralleled in its historiography. The division, within early nineteenth century German society, between an advanced intellectual life and a retrograde economic and social situation made for an apparently independent development of a spiritual elite on the one hand and of the masses of the people on the other, and it was as a reflection of this that Meinecke gave primacy to the first and Brandenburg emphasized the second of these elements. The two streams joined, temporarily, in 1848 with the coincidence of the "parliament of professors" and the popular uprisings, but because of the differing sets of conditions behind each the histories of the revolution have not, until Meinecke's recent centennial essay, succeeded in creating a satisfactory general synthesis. The two books under review here, dealing with the Frankfurt Parliament and the revolution in Berlin respectively, do not go beyond the traditional historiography but rather, in both form and content, confirm its dual character.

Strauss's work, copiously documented and appointed with bibliography, is a scholarly monograph which, through an analysis of the positions taken in the debates on fundamental rights at the German National Assembly, demonstrates the organization of definite political groupings out of the highly individualized intellectuals of the *Paulskirche*. The pattern which emerges is the familiar one of Right, Center, Left, given fresh point by its application to concrete issues and by reference to the economic and social interests covered by the political ideas of each group. While this device is illuminating for the debates on the social question and feudal property rights, in general the nature of the subject precludes a thoroughgoing consideration of any historical facet beyond the theoretical sphere of parliamentary debate and negotiation. Within its specialized framework, on the other hand, the study makes a real contribution in its background chapter on the committees which prepared the drafts of the rights.

The Kaeber book is in the other line of the tradition, but improved by the awareness of social interests and ideologies. Written in a charming, easy style, it is a successful attempt at a popularized history of the people's revolt in Berlin from March to November, 1848. Though the work clearly shows a mastery of all the relevant materials, Kaeber has dispensed with the apparatus of footnotes and bibliography and has included instead documentary reproductions and a street plan of Berlin marked with the barricades of March 18. His subject is the inchoate aspirations of the Berlin populace, the incapacity of their local leaders, and the

machinations of the authorities who ultimately defeated them. The parliaments enter the story only occasionally, when their action has a direct impact upon the Berliners. From its excellent introductory chapter describing Berlin's peculiar mid-way position between a handicraft court capital and an industrial city and its politicalization during the forties, the account graphically portrays the atmosphere of a town in revolution. The representation of local groups, as organized around clubs and newspapers, is particularly full and clear. Although Kaeber's obvious sympathies with the Left-wing revolutionaries lead him to an exaggeration of the popular support for the March uprising and incidentally to an overstatement of Berlin's role in the German revolution, yet the book, published in the Russian sector, does not curry favor with any single party ideology. His extended treatment of the radical movement is in the service of a general democratic rather than an ultimate proletarian point of view; the full consideration of the rising class conflict during the revolution is purely descriptive and indeterministic. He carefully portrays the specific conditions and motivations of all the actors on the scene, whatever their politics, and his concentration upon the narrative, his maintenance of its dramatic tension to the end, attests to his respect for the historical process itself. Within the context of its social emphasis and its local scope, Kaeber's book, written in the somber setting of Berlin, 1948, represents a happy marriage of traditional scholarship with an understanding for the role of popular forces in modern history.

Yale University

LEONARD KRIEGER

NIETZSCHE: THE STORY OF A HUMAN PHILOSOPHER. By *H. A. Reyburn*, Professor of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, in collaboration with *H. E. Hinderks* and *J. G. Taylor*. (London and New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. viii, 500. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Reyburn, who is a professor of psychology at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, has, with the aid of two colleagues, Messrs. H. E. Hinderks and J. G. Taylor, given us a really admirable biography of Nietzsche, and a good clear analysis of his philosophical ideas. He has not attempted, save in relation primarily to Schopenhauer, to place Nietzsche's work in relation to the history of formal philosophy. Nor has he sought to define Nietzsche's influence on the more general currents of modern thought that interest the intellectual historian. Yet this is a valuable book for the historian, who will find in it a good guide to Nietzsche's ideas, and a most temperate and untechnical psychological analysis of Nietzsche's personality. The historian needs to get himself straight about what Nietzsche himself was like before he attempts the difficult task of appraising the work his writings did in the world.

Nietzsche has had rather hard luck with his biographers. Most of them set him up as the hero-as-intellectual in the vulgar world of the late nineteenth cen-

ture, and made him the eternal martyr to the stupidity of ordinary men. Some few, on the other hand, grew so tired of his perpetual complaining that they saw in him only the near-psychotic misfit compensating crudely for his failure to get on with anybody. Professor Reyburn has managed to hold the balance even. He does not gloss over the tragicomic weaknesses of the would-be Polish nobleman, the nearsighted artilleryman who fell onto the pommel of his own horse, the dominator of women who feared them all his life, the hypochondriac who preached the great health. But he does not lose sight of Nietzsche's great gifts as poet and stylist, his flashes of insight into human nature, his subtle awareness of the extent to which the underlying assumptions of the eighteenth century Enlightenment were being challenged at the very moment of their apparent triumph in the Victorian Western world.

With Nietzsche's formal philosophy Professor Reyburn inevitably has a harder task. For in spite of the efforts of many analyzers of his ideas to prove the contrary, Nietzsche was not a systematic philosopher in the tradition of Kant or even of Plato. His works, above all the unfinished *Will to Power* which he seems to have meant to make systematic, are all mere collections of aphorisms, bursts of thinking and feeling, and it is easy to find aphorisms in hopeless contradiction one with the other. But Professor Reyburn's is an honest and sensible effort to clear up Nietzsche's debris. He does not, like Andler, distort him into a socialist, nor like Baumeister, into a fascist, nor like Mr. H. L. Mencken, into a small town scoffer. His main guiding thread, that Nietzsche's thought is a kind of parody of, and surrogate for, Christianity, is basically sound. Parody is by no means the least insincere form of flattery, and the instinct which made many Germans feel that Nietzsche belongs in the Christian tradition was not so far wrong. His ultimate place in the history of Western thought cannot yet be established. This book should be a valuable part of any effort to estimate that place.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

THE GOEBBELS DIARIES, 1942-1943. Edited, Translated, and with an Introduction by *Louis P. Lochner*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1948. Pp. ix, 566. \$4.00.)

WE are told on the dust jacket of *The Goebbels Diaries* that, as Goebbels "fabricated his network of lies to the German people and to the world by day, he was telling the truth to his diary at night." Perhaps the "truth" that Goebbels told at night was the highest of which he was capable; but it differed very little from his editorials in *Das Reich*. *The Goebbels Diaries* throw little new light on the inside story of Nazi politics and policy-formation during the critical years covered (1942 and 1943). Unlike most political memoirs, they are directed, as befits their author's profession, not to the historians of posterity but to the

politically unsophisticated. Their value lies chiefly in the fact that they came into the hands of the editor before the little doctor could iron out the many contradictions contained therein, so that one can see the change in line taking shape as the conviction of defeat took hold in Goebbels' mind. A gap in the diaries for the period between May, 1942, and March, 1943, places this change in high relief.

During 1942, Goebbels devoted much attention to his fight against defeatism. He repeatedly attacked the career army officers and professional civil servants for disloyalty and lack of moral fiber. He seemed to be laying the foundations of a stab-in-the-back legend against them. Under the impact of Allied victories and air raids after March, 1943, his emphasis on the antithesis of the party and the traditional governing class declined. Where in 1942 Goebbels blamed the army for the failure in the east, he suggested in May, 1943, that Hitler was perhaps "prejudiced or unjust" when he "just couldn't bear the sight of generals any longer." As his criticism of the bureaucracy and army diminished during 1943, his attacks on the "ideologists" in the party increased. He assumed the role of the moderate against the party radicals. As defeat approached, Goebbels emphasized less the dissidence and defeatism in the German fold than the cruel superiority of the enemy whom all Germans must resist together. This change in emphasis would suggest that the first portion of the diary was written with the assumption that Germany would emerge intact from the war, and was designed to justify a further expansion of the power of the party at the expense of the professional soldiers and bureaucrats; while the second section was written in the realization of defeat, and was intended to show that the sensible elements in the Nazi party (*i.e.*, Goebbels) tried to soft-pedal the Nazi radicals and to work with all patriotic sectors of the population.

Whether Goebbels would have shifted his line again after July 20, 1944, we cannot know. It is, however, a paradox of the Nazi position that Goebbels could safely cultivate a stab-in-the-back legend only for the event of victory. A really successful stab in the back would have destroyed the principal justification for totalitarian terrorism.

The *Diaries* also throw some light on the phenomenon of National Bolshevism, of which Goebbels was an ardent adherent in the mid-twenties. For the Goebbels of 1942, National Bolshevism is only an instrument of propaganda against the foreign enemy. His diary, so rich in attacks on aristocracy, bureaucracy, and army, contains no word of reproach against the German business class. The word "plutocracy," which in earlier Nazi jargon was used to damn the whole capitalist class, is applied here only to "those who do not work." Goebbels was no longer a nationalistic leveler. He expressed opposition to high taxation on the upper income brackets on the grounds that it would remove all work incentive. We strike here upon an interesting feature of the Nazi structure, which obviously had its impact on Goebbels. Active opposition to Hitler drew such strength as it had from the old aristocracy, the bureaucracy, the army, church groups, and labor (both Social Democratic and Communist). The German business community,

with the rarest exceptions, remained loyal to the Nazis, and its loyalty was reflected in a softening of Goebbels' National Bolshevik ideology.

In his foreign propaganda, of course, Goebbels labored to set class against class, nation against nation in the Allied camp. He sought to have Hitler regarded by the working class abroad as the champion of socialism; by the possessing class as the defender of capitalism. Unfortunately for him, his formula, insofar as it was taken up at all, was inverted at the receiving end. Toward the end of 1943, Goebbels admitted his failure in propaganda abroad, especially in the case of Great Britain. "A sharp sword," he wrote, "must always stand behind propaganda if it is to be effective." One may question the general validity of the statement; but who can doubt its truth for the Nazis?

Mr. Lochner deserves credit for his successful translation of Goebbels' Nazi-fied German. His scholarship, however, is less than satisfactory. The interlineated notes frequently include disturbing repetitions of the text, and are sometimes less than accurate. Thus Von Ribbentrop is cited without qualification as a member of the nobility. Rudolf Schulz-Dornburg, one of the leaders of the chamber music revival in the twenties, is dismissed as "one of innumerable German Kapellmeisters." In a note on General von Seydlitz, we read: "One of his ancestors, General Friedrich Wilhelm von Seydlitz, was a hero of the Napoleonic Wars. His victory at Rossbach in 1757 was regarded as one of the greatest triumphs in the history of cavalry warfare."

The editor tends to overestimate the power of his subject when he states that, when the diaries were written, "the little doctor was the most important and influential man after Hitler. . . . By 1943 he was virtually running the country while Hitler was running the war." The diaries themselves offer ample disproof of this proposition. On his own testimony, Goebbels could not even control the field of propaganda. He was constantly bickering with almost everyone in government and party. The center of his hopes for acquiring more authority was the scheme which he hatched with Speer, Funk, and Ley to enhance Goering's authority at the expense of Lammers, Bormann, and Keitel. The air raids, however, finished Goering's reputation with Hitler, and with it Goebbels' little plan to be more than a propagandist and friend of the Führer.

Wesleyan University

CARL E. SCHORSKE

TO THE BITTER END. By *Hans Bernd Gisevius*. Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1947. Pp. xv, 632. \$4.00.)

THIS book is not easy to evaluate and its contribution toward illuminating the history of the Third Reich will long remain debatable. It is too much the work of an exuberant extrovert to please everywhere, though its frank subjectivity may also have a disarming effect. It would be difficult to imagine a volume more

revealing of its author. Gisevius, as the reviewer can testify from personal experience, is a most interesting person to meet. Enthusiastic, somewhat inclined toward the melodramatic, with a love of the game of intrigue for its own sake, he obviously took to conspiracy as a duck to water. He was neither the "representative of German democratic forces" Justice Jackson described him at Nuremberg nor the cynical reactionary others have made him out to be. His book is neither modest nor pompous nor excessively self-righteous. He admits mistakes and misconceptions even where he might have been able to cover up. If we did not know it from other sources, his own account would make clear enough that many figures in the opposition regarded him with distaste and perhaps even distrust. On the other hand, he enjoyed the basic confidence of such solid figures as Goerdeler, Beck, and Oster, who would have been the last to accept him if they had had reason to think him an irresponsible opportunist. Even hostile critics admit his exceptional courage and his consistent devotion to the cause he had embraced.

The volume throws a flood of new light on obscure angles of such major incidents of Third Reich history as the Reichstag fire, the blood purge of 1934, the Nazi putsch against the military leadership in the Blomberg-Fritsch affair, the domestic angles of the Munich crisis, the extensive conspiratorial activities of November, 1939, and the tragic denouement of the conspiracy in July, 1944. For several of these he is perhaps the principal source. Goering and Himmler emerge much more clearly than previously as the architects of the 1934 purge and of the elimination of Blomberg and Fritsch. Goebbels supplants Goering as the chief villain in the burning of the Reichstag.

A number of obvious mistakes and (perhaps intentional) misstatements of fact oblige us to accept much of this testimony with reservations until it is corroborated from other sources, but it remains an excellent and at times indispensable point of departure in any analysis of these events. Much of the value of Gisevius' account derives from his acute historical sense. As one of the principal archivists of the opposition movement, he not only kept voluminous notes and records but wrote up much of the story as it developed.

The failings and omissions of the book are so obvious as to be rendered thereby less serious. There is no adequate interpretation of the moral aspects of the conspiracy. Illumination is principally on the negative side of the fight against Nazism. The more positive and constructive planning of such groups as the Kreisau circle and the labor oppositionists is largely passed over and probably not too well known to Gisevius, who was separated from these elements by an antipathy that appears to have been mutual. He makes next to no contribution to our understanding of the failure of the Weimar Republic and not too much to our knowledge of many major aspects of the Hitler regime. Certainly the book is not in any sense as much of a history of the Third Reich as it is claimed in some quarters to be, though not by Gisevius himself.

Gisevius' style is spirited and robust though at times excessively verbose. The

translators have performed magnificently in retaining the individualism and vividness of the original. Altogether the book constitutes one of the most gripping presentations on recent history that has appeared since the last war.

University of Minnesota

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

BALKAN POLITICS: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN NO MAN'S LAND. By *Joseph S. Roucek*, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Hofstra College, Hempstead, Long Island. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 298. \$3.50.)

THIS is a revised edition of the author's earlier book *The Politics of the Balkans* (1929). It consists of two introductory chapters "The Balkan Gateway" and "The Political Patterns," a chapter on each of the Balkan countries, including Macedonia, and a concluding chapter on "Balkan Foreign Politics."

It is a useful reference work as it provides a very considerable amount of information on the geography, economics, and politics of the Balkan countries. Unfortunately its value is seriously impaired by a multitude of errors apparently due to haste. In the chapter on Greece, for example, the description of the establishment of the Metaxas dictatorship is misleading; the account of the wartime developments in Greek Macedonia is incorrect; the statement that the Security Battalions were "anti-German almost to a man" is obviously an error; the Greek frontiers were not extended by the treaty of Berlin; the Gorgopotamos bridge was blown up by British and EDES, as well as EAM forces; and Papandreou did not attempt to broaden his government after liberation as he had already done so several months earlier. In the same chapter we find both Jean and John Metaxas (in other chapters Dushan and Duschan, Stoiadinovitch and Stoyadinovitz), Walter Miller for William Miller, Kiko Zachariades for Niko Zachariades, wrong words for ELAS, and incorrect spelling of Koundouriotis, Gorgopotamos, and *capetanaios*.

The book also is marred by an artificial journalese that takes the form at times of awkward, involved sentences (see the opening sentences of chapters 1, 4, and 7) and such phrases as "a terrific beating in the press," "playing ball with Hitler," "harassed, tubby Admiral Petros Voulgaris," and "a carp-faced woman, broad of beam and of bosom."

The author's interpretations are orthodox and acceptable except for the exaggerated emphasis placed upon the role of personalities. "Even in Greece," he states, "postwar political trends were focused around the personality of King George." This is disproved by the fact that the death of King George caused scarcely a stir in Greek political circles. His significance derived not from his personality, which was negligible, but rather from his office, which served as a symbol for the basic issues that have convulsed the country. Likewise the author evaluates Tito, Hoxha, Groza, and Dimitrov as personalities similar to the former Turkish pashas, and

lacking in "new issues, new values, new ideas" (p. 20). Tito obviously is a personality, but it is equally obvious that he has ideas concerning federalism and industrialization that might well affect the course of Balkan politics for decades to come. The author does not ignore the social and economic factors, but after explaining them at length he appears to forget them and in the following pages writes in exclusive terms about the role of individual leaders. The book lacks, in other words, that unity in approach and treatment that distinguishes Hugh Seton-Watson's, *Eastern Europe between the Wars*, a basic work that curiously is not included in the author's extensive bibliography.

Finally the one chapter on Balkan diplomacy is insufficient to do justice to the subject; at least two are needed to justify the subtitle of the book.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

Far Eastern History

THE MANCHURIAN CRISIS, 1931-1932: A TRAGEDY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. By *Sara R. Smith*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 281. \$3.75.)

"It is the thesis of this book that the final outcome of the Sino-Japanese controversy before the League Council [in regard to Manchuria, from September, 1931, to February, 1933] was determined in the fall of 1931 and that all that occurred thereafter was merely carrying the tragedy to its logical and inevitable conclusion" (p. 225). Giving an account, well documented, of forces, issues, personalities, and events, the author, who is now assistant professor at West Virginia University, has produced not only an incisive analysis of facts but a goodly synthesis of precepts. She believes that the Japanese army had embarked upon a gamble, that resolute action by the League of Nations and the United States during the early weeks might have effected a "peaceful settlement," and that the failure of the efforts of the League and the United States was due to erroneous estimates, irresolution, absence of a developed technique for co-operation, tardiness in action, "poor timing and faulty judgment at crucial moments," and unwillingness of the powers at any stage to "exercise anything more than moral suasion." She shows incidentally that in the deliberations at Geneva and at Paris there was on the part of the principal personages representing the powers other than Japan and China little knowledge or comprehension of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the situation in the Far East. Further she shows that both in contemporary and in subsequent consideration of the problems presented and the action taken there has been much misunderstanding, more than a little misinterpretation, and some misrepresentation of various matters of simple fact.

The backbone and substance of the book consists of a "day by day" account, with comment, of the deliberations of the League, the deliberations of the Ameri-

can government, some of the deliberations of the British Foreign Office, and communications between and among these. There is emphasized the failure to recognize from the first that the Mukden incident was an act of aggression. There is inadequate appreciation of the fact that the processes of examination, of making decisions and of exchanging of communications take time. There is overemphasis on the factor of conflict of views within the United States Department of State, for data regarding which reliance seems to have been placed entirely upon secondary sources. There is well-wrought account of the discussion of sanctions, of Mr. Stimson's nonrecognition notes and his letter to Senator Borah, and of the misunderstanding with Sir John Simon in regard to these—with conclusion that "the responsibility for failure to stop Japan must be divided between the United States and Great Britain" (p. 238). "We would not face the issue in 1931 and so we fought a war in 1941" (p. 80). What happened in each of those years was indeed "tragedy in international relations," the more so in that in each case the wheel of Fortune persistently favored the aggressor. Lessons *are* learnable.

Well footnoted and extensively indexed, this monograph, although, as its author affirms (p. 4), not the last word on the subject, strides vigorously and helpfully in the right direction.

Washington, D.C.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. By *John King Fairbank*. [The American Foreign Policy Library.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xiv, 384. \$3.75.)

"CHINA is only superficially a meeting point between the United States and the Soviet Union," Professor Fairbank declares in the first sentence of this book. "Fundamentally it is a society alien to both Russia and America, which is developing according to its own tradition and circumstances. The greatest error that Americans can make is to look at China but think only of Russian expansion." Following his own advice, the author devotes the rest of the volume both to looking at China and thinking of it, although always with the world picture in mind. His discussion of the country's older history and recent development includes chapters on such subjects as the nature of Chinese society, Confucianism, the Western impact, American policy, and nationalism and communism. The book also contains an index, several maps and a chronological chart, the text of General Marshall's statement of January 7, 1947, on China, and an extremely useful bibliographical essay.

Some of the principal conclusions are summarized in the statement already quoted. The author points out effectively the nonexistence within China of a "free enterprise" tradition, the many other ways in which Chinese society differs from that of the United States, the fundamental role of livelihood in the thinking of

the Chinese people. Above all, he stresses that China is going through a process of revolution and that "the outside power which can contribute most to this process can thereby gain the greatest influence." But "no nation," he warns, "can reorganize China from the outside."

The reviewer knows of no other brief book which surveys the broad range of Chinese history so well, while linking the past closely with the present. Many of the sections (*e.g.*, those on Confucianism, modern intellectual development, and the thought of Chiang Kai-shek) cover their historical or recent subject matter much better than do available texts on the Far East. On the other hand, as the author himself points out, "every part of this book will be subject to revision as our study and understanding of Chinese society continue to develop." Apart from this unavoidable limitation, there are a number of points of interpretation and emphasis which the reviewer is inclined to question. One example will have to suffice: the almost complete lack of reference to the popular anti-Japanese movement in China during 1935-37. This omission, regrettable from a factual point of view, affects the validity of a number of judgments made about prewar China. It also helps to explain the book's tendency to regard China's wartime and post-war development as a striking departure from the pre-1937 situation. The war was, of course, a tremendous force for changes of all kinds, but a careful examination of the earlier period would show a striking degree of continuity between past and present. On the whole, however, Professor Fairbank has made a valuable contribution to our understanding of China. His book is also an excellent reminder of the fact that we are dealing in China with the Chinese—their society, aspirations, poverty and traditions—and that it is dangerous to lose sight of this in the heat of current international relations.

American Institute of Pacific Relations

LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

American History

THE AMERICAN PAST: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM CONCORD TO HIROSHIMA, 1775-1945. By *Roger Butterfield*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1947. Pp. xii, 476. \$10.00.)

Mr. Butterfield in a single large volume beautifully turned out has undertaken to cover through pictures the history of the United States from the Revolution to the accession of President Truman. He concentrates on the story of the nation. His frontispiece is a portrait of Franklin accompanied by the familiar cartoon of the dismembered snake and the injunction, "Unite or Die." It is an appropriate opening. His last picture is the famous photograph of Franklin D. Roosevelt with Falla in the motor car on the Hyde Park drive and beside it, as part of the caption, the last written words of the President. The beginning and

the end suggest the main theme, namely, the political history of the United States.

In the visual development of this theme the book is pre-eminent. Mr. Butterfield attempts, with considerable success, to make the leading figures in American history come alive. His technique is to present the story of a man through a collection of pictures that may begin with his birthplace and is likely to include cartoons as well as portraits. In the era of photography candid camera shots are added. The handling of Jefferson is a good example. Early in the volume a portrait of Jefferson, the idealistic young statesman, is paired with that of Hamilton. Later comes a portrait of the mature Jefferson of the presidential years. Then, in the midst of the presidency of the second Adams, comes the life mask of the aged master of Monticello. The method is effective. Mr. Butterfield's grouping of portraits and in the latter portion of his book of candid photographs is one of the outstanding achievements of the volume.

A second achievement is his use of cartoons. These are many, though the volume does not have the coverage of earlier collections. The size of the page, however, makes it possible to reproduce the well-selected cartoons in such dimensions as to enhance their effectiveness. The present work surpasses any similar undertaking in the "Portfolio of Cartoons in Color" dealing with the 1880's and 1890's. These items, chosen from *Puck* and *Judge*, when grouped together, make a powerful impact.

Beside political history the present volume includes westward expansion, economic history including both agrarian and labor movements, and social history. By skillful selection of items for emphasis the wars from the Civil War on are effectively and realistically shown. In summary it may be said that this is the best portfolio of pictures dealing with American history to be published in a single volume. The volume is well indexed and the source from which each item was obtained is given, though this means in many cases the commercial picture service that provided it. Such an attribution is adequate for photographs but becomes meaningless when it refers to other and earlier materials.

The outstanding defect of the work is the lack of adequate reference to the artists who created the illustrations used so freely in the earlier portion of the book and to the place of original publication. Mr. Butterfield includes what he calls a portfolio of George Caleb Bingham's political canvasses with a considerable comment about the artist. But he omits any reference to the painters of the many portraits he reproduces. On one occasion he mentions the illustrator F. O. C. Darley and on another the cartoonist Kepler. But in general the engravings, wood cuts, and lithographs he reproduces are anonymous and without identification as to place and time of first publication. They vary greatly in their value as historical documents, some of them being quite worthless. If pictures are to be taken seriously, as Mr. Butterfield appears to take them, they cannot be presented without that information and critical comment that gives them meaning. In a volume of illustrative material so well selected from a visual point of view, so carefully and

thoughtfully organized, and so sumptuously produced, this failure to provide the material to enable the reader to deal intelligently with the picture is inexcusable.

Yale University

RALPH H. GABRIEL

GUIDE TO BUSINESS HISTORY: MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN BUSINESS HISTORY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR USE. By *Henrietta M. Larson*, Associate Professor of Business History, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Volume XII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xxvi, 1181. \$12.00.)

THIS book, begun in 1931, contains an annotated list of some 5,000 references to books, pamphlets, leaflets, and articles, most of which are concerned with the policies and actions of specific businessmen or the development of specific business enterprises.

In addition to some forty pages of introductory discussion which is rich in insight and scholarship, each of the main and many of the subsidiary subsections are introduced by a brief discussion of the nature of the materials and the viewpoint from which the researchers embarked upon their tasks. The balance of the book is divided into six main divisions as follows: the general historical development of business and the historical background and setting of American business; autobiographies, biographies, and other materials about individual businessmen; historical development of business firms; aspects of the history of the functional divisions of business and of selected industries; general topics in business history; and the final section is devoted to reference and research materials.

The table of contents covers more than 10 pages, and an excellent index covers 144 pages. The book is a demonstration of masterful craftsmanship and scholarship, indispensable for future historians of business history. The individual critical comment on the 5,000 references is sharp and relevant.

Many persons participated in this work and much credit goes to Edwin F. Gay and perhaps more particularly to N. S. B. Gras. The approach of Gras and his associates is to be distinguished clearly from the work of economic historians. The student of economic history relies heavily on government reports, court decisions, and documents growing out of problem areas. As a result, the economic historian often becomes the victim of the limitations of his own materials; the pathology and the "problem" aspects of our society get played up.

This book will encourage historians to rely at least in part on the original record of the business firm and the businessman. The emphasis is on the administration of the individual enterprise. "Administration" includes the formulation of business policies, control policies, and day-to-day management procedures and techniques.

As a separate field of academic research and study, business history is only

about twenty years old. In the larger universities, separate courses as distinguished from economic history are beginning to be developed. This volume is not a history of business but a guide to business history and to the materials from which business history may be written and around which courses may be organized. It does not pretend to be complete but should prove highly useful. Students and teachers of American history would be well advised to read Part I and the comments preceding the several main parts and subsections.

Washington, D. C.

EMERSON P. SCHMIDT

EARLY CONNECTICUT MEETINGHOUSES; BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH EDIFICES BUILT BEFORE 1830 BASED CHIEFLY UPON TOWN AND PARISH RECORDS. By *J. Frederick Kelly*. In two volumes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. xlviii, 332; xiii, 360. \$40.00.)

THIS work, monumental in scope and accomplishment, is so well done that it is hard to see how it could be superseded. Carrying out the author's aim to make "as complete a record as possible" of Connecticut meetinghouses—as the early Congregational houses of worship should properly be called—involved an incredible amount of work, evidently done with loving care. The author went to the actual locality of the more than fourscore buildings studied, traveling over 8,000 miles by automobile. A map of the locations of the meetinghouses surprisingly shows that Litchfield County, not the earliest settled, has the greatest number of early buildings. A few were fortunately examined before destruction by disuse or injury by the hurricane of 1938.

Mr. Kelly made exact observations and careful measurements on the spot, photographed both exteriors and interiors, and added scientific drawings of interesting and unusual details. The resulting illustrations show the technical accuracy of a professional architect instead of the fanciful pictures which often embellish such works. Interest is added by the reproduction of contracts, lists of expenses, floor plans, and similar material. The photographs, whose large size determines the dimensions of the book, are beautiful in themselves and will perhaps be a main interest of the casual lay reader, while the many technical descriptions and diagrams, such as those of roof structure and foundations, will appeal more especially to architects and builders.

The method of presentation is historical as well as descriptive and graphic. A careful and logical plan is consistently followed, both in the general introduction and in the treatment of individual buildings. Connecticut meetinghouses are first placed in their historical perspective and importance, as "symbols of practically all that is characteristic of the New England way of life and thought." The introduction furnishes the historical and ecclesiastical background, and explains the preponderant number of Congregational meetinghouses considered in com-

parison with the few Episcopal and other church buildings. The process of formation of separate parishes and churches is described; the use of the meetinghouse for all kinds of public assemblies; the development of the four successive types of architecture; and matters like the choice of site, methods of financing, and special topics like the kind of wood used. Some mention is made of individual architects and builders, and their sources of inspiration and training, but most of the work was done by men of the parish unknown to fame and trained only by experience in building their homes. The main part of the book is concerned with individual buildings, presented in alphabetical order, each accompanied by its history and an exhaustive technical description which goes into details such as the kind of floor-covering in use today.

To gather this wealth of material the author added to the field work study of records of ecclesiastical societies, churches, and towns; historical addresses; and town, county, and church histories. Search for records led him to top pantry shelves, attics, and dark closets, where he disputed possession with spiders, bats, and wasps. An incidental and valuable service was the discovery of missing records and their removal to proper places of storage. The extensive bibliography indicates the amount of investigation and study which was spent in the preparation of this work. An adequate index adds to its value.

The period covered extends from the days of the first simple buildings, probably made of logs, to the year 1830, when Georgian and post-colonial styles gave way to Greek Revival. This date also coincides in general with the end of the era during which church and state in Connecticut worked hand in hand, and the church edifice—undedicated until near the end of the eighteenth century and regarded with no particular reverence—was the meeting place for both civil and religious purposes. An odd illustration of this is that the first stove in a Connecticut meetinghouse was probably the one installed in the Hartford church for use of the convention that ratified the Constitution. Apparently the heat engendered by this political discussion was not expected to be as great as that produced by matters of religion, which were not considered to need artificial help. Changes in ideas of the use of church buildings and certain architectural modifications are shown to be due in part to the growing influence of episcopacy.

A nostalgic note frequently occurs, for Mr. Kelly had special interest in things left in original form, and regarded with disfavor or resignation most of the nineteenth century "renovations" and "inevitable alterations," many of them inferior to the original and some of them "obviously and painfully modern." He regretfully remarks that not one church edifice in Connecticut remains as originally built, but admiration is freely expressed for much of the work of the early and often untrained builders.

Only a man with technical training, real knowledge and love of the subject and its ramifications, and with the capacity for infinite labor and meticulous care could have produced this extensive and thorough work. It is of interest not only

to architects and church people but to antiquarians, historians, and all who care for the treasured buildings of Connecticut. The debt to Mr. Kelly is great, for this and for his other well-known works along the same lines. His untimely death is a matter of deep regret, and especially that he did not live to see the published results of his labors.

New Haven, Connecticut

MARY H. MITCHELL

GENERAL GAGE IN AMERICA: BEING PRINCIPALLY A HISTORY OF HIS ROLE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *John Richard Alden*, Department of History, University of Nebraska. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 313. \$4.00.)

IN this objective and well-documented biography of "the most powerful British official in America" in the eighteenth century, Professor Alden has allotted the greater space to General Gage's career as commander in chief of the British forces during the period 1763 to 1775. He has made extensive use of the general's official papers (there being few personal letters extant) now in the possession of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Although Henry Belcher, in the preparation of his *First American Civil War*, made a limited use of that collection while it remained at Firle, Sussex, the reviewer can testify that when he examined and listed the individual manuscripts as they then (twenty years ago) rested in their original containers, there was no evidence that copies of Gage's outgoing letters had been unfolded since they were filed away at the time of their composition: in many instances the blotting sand still adhered to the paper. This testimony is offered in passing merely to emphasize the opportunity which the author has had to revel in an unexampled body of materials pertaining to American history never before used either for a full-length biography or in connection with a general history of the period.

As an example of unbiased reporting, Professor Alden has done a capital job. But what substantial contribution to historical knowledge, if any, has he made? We believe in the first place that Thomas Gage has been lifted out of the obscurity to which he has long been consigned. He has not hitherto fared too well at the hands of historians. He was indubitably a man of strong character and of great patience; and he was a courageous man in a political as well as in a military sense, though not a genius in either. "On the whole, Gage exhibited greater talents as a politician than he did as a general." The emphasis on Gage's role as a politician is, we think, important. It will surprise some readers, perhaps, to learn that the commander in chief was almost universally popular in the colonies until the emergence of the Boston difficulties in 1774 and 1775. In rehabilitating Gage the man, Alden has perhaps not sufficiently emphasized another characteristic: a facility in rationalizing a new or different policy on the part of his superiors in London.

A second contribution, though not in every respect original, consists in placing

the office of commander in chief in correct historical perspective (though in this regard Alden refuses to admit certain implications which the reviewer believes are inherent in the situation). It is unhappily true that most commentators on the pre-Revolutionary period have rarely touched upon the role played by Thomas Gage in those turbulent years. That he maintained intact the British empire in North America after the conquest of 1763 was by no means the least of his tasks. At the same time he besought both from the home government and the colonial assemblies aid and co-operation in the enforcement of the laws. He found little support from London and less from the colonies.

Gage was a member of the Anglican communion, though most of his immediate forebears were of the Roman Catholic persuasion. "The Gages somehow or other had consistently managed to support the losing side."

Chevy Chase, Maryland

CLARENCE E. CARTER

JOHN HANCOCK, PATRIOT IN PURPLE. By *Herbert S. Allan*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xvi, 422. \$6.00.)

A BIOGRAPHY of Hancock is a historical event of major importance. No other leader of the Revolution has been so long neglected. The author has had wide journalistic experience. There are sixteen chapters, a seven-page bibliography, 577 footnotes assembled by chapters at the back of the book, and an excellent index.

A biographer of Hancock is confronted with formidable difficulties. The first is the mass of calumnies left by political rivals and their biographers. The second is that Hancock materials are widely scattered. The third, and most serious, is that he was far more than a citizen of Massachusetts. From 1765 to 1775 he was an outstanding character in the imperial controversies and for the next fifteen years a major shaper of American political development. He can be understood only through a knowledge of the political life of which he was a part.

The author has done an excellent job in assembling scattered Hancock materials after 1775. His treatment of Hancock's part in the imperial drama from 1765 to 1775 is both inadequate and inaccurate. He recognizes that when Hancock appeared in the Continental Congress in 1775 he was the leading political figure with a record of services to the American cause "incomparably greater than those of Colonel Washington" (p. 196). What these services were and how he had won his position of continental leadership the reader is not told.

Commencing with chapter vii the real Hancock begins to take shape. Here is portrayed organizing political genius of the highest order. His rare capacity to get men of widely divergent ideas to compromise their differences and to unite on the essentials for the common good are well set forth. Here is presented Hancock's great service as president of Congress from May, 1775, through October, 1777—building a national government, creating an army and navy, holding wavering states in line, finding men like Morris who could do administrative work

and others who could lead troops, putting through the Declaration of Independence, securing aid from France, planning the capture of Burgoyne, and supporting Washington in trying times—all this service without pay.

Chapters XIII through XVI deal with Hancock's growing physical handicaps and his unequalled services as political leader of his own state—creating the only state constitution so workable that it is still in use; elected governor for eleven terms and by majorities unknown except in the German elections under Hitler; preserving the French alliance by courtesies to D'Estaing and his officers after the Rhode Island disaster; personally supplying Steuben with horses, saddles, and money so he could report to Washington in proper form; securing the adoption of the Constitution with a Bill of Rights; and leading his state in a protest that forced the adoption of the eleventh amendment. This part is well done. He accords Hancock the honor of being the most powerful political figure on the continent at this time (p. 300).

Hancock may have had all the faults ascribed to him. But ordering parsnips for his household in March, 1777, when that was the only available fresh vegetable, hardly justifies the term "gourmet" (p. 254). His order of pewter dishes for his own use and new carpets and furniture to replace articles that had been in use for twenty years and damaged by British officers quartered in his home for a year does not prove that he was a "hedonist" (p. 313). In his final conclusions (pp. 365–66), however, the author gives as fine an estimate of Hancock as there is in print.

The book needs revision. The print is too small. Much of the first three chapters should be deleted as irrelevant. But even in its present form it is the best biography of Hancock.

Colorado State College of Education

O. M. DICKERSON

MEN, CITIES, AND TRANSPORTATION: A STUDY IN NEW ENGLAND HISTORY, 1820–1900. By *Edward Chase Kirkland*. In two volumes. [Studies in Economic History, published in co-operation with the Committee on Research in Economic History, Social Science Research Council.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xvi, 528; ix, 499. \$12.50.)

IN these fascinating volumes Mr. Kirkland explores the shifting demands of New Englanders for the sort of transportation they wanted in the years 1820–1900 and, as he aptly puts it, the "human response" to their changing needs and ambitions. Thus *Men, Cities, and Transportation* is primarily an inquiry into that distinctive phenomenon, the New England mind at work on a problem, conducted by a thoroughgoing Yankee who instinctively understands the kind of people he writes about. The result is not a detailed reference work, despite the magnificent array of facts marshaled to illustrate or drive home basic conclusions. Nor is it even a systematic survey of the general New England situation. It is rather a selective

analysis, virtually in essay form, of the region's distinctive transportation problems and, more important, a revelation of the spirit with which New Englanders set about solving them.

Some 150 pages, scattered among the 1,000-odd total pages, are devoted to the coastal trade; another 30 pages summarize the role of highways and inland waterways. Railroads, however, occupy the center of the stage. Wisely skirting the tangled story of corporate organization, construction, and consolidation (already exhaustively covered by George P. Baker in his *Formation of the New England Railroad Systems*) Mr. Kirkland delves into competitive strategy, operations and service, rates and finance, inter-carrier relations, the growth of public regulation, and, above all, the reaction of New Englanders to a fast-developing major industry in which they continuously registered profound interest. Although the story follows a rough chronological pattern, it is organized primarily around successive major problems such as (to cite but a few) the drive for rail outlets to the West and Canada, the mounting trend toward monopoly, the search for technical improvements in both land and water carriers, and the efforts to devise a wise and equitable system of public control. Treatment varies in scope and tempo according to the topic under consideration, ranging from broad general comment to detailed exposition.

Throughout this massive undertaking, Mr. Kirkland repeatedly breaks new ground and sets high standards of achievement. In the opinion of this reviewer, his most valuable contribution is his lucid, full-dress demonstration of the complexity of any transportation problem, be it in New England or elsewhere. In case after case he traces unfalteringly the intricate interplay of widely disparate but unquestionably pertinent factors such, for example, as technology, community pride, financing, politics, physiography, the level of executive ability, and so on. In so doing on such a broad scale he carries to full fruition and effectiveness the techniques suggested by William J. Wilgus' brief but superbly integrated *The Role of Transportation in the Development of Vermont*. And, because Mr. Kirkland does a masterful job of sampling and selection, the multiple threads of his story unerringly fall into a unified, comprehensible pattern which contrasts sharply with the odd-shaped crazy quilt that resulted from Balthasar Meyer's heroic attempt to weave all pertinent material into his *History of Transportation in the United States before 1860*. Finally, like that veteran biographer of railways, the late Edward Hungerford (whose *Men of Erie* is a case in point), Mr. Kirkland not only captures the color and emotions of the situations he describes but also grasps clearly the elusive technical and strategic considerations that have so often tripped up even the most conscientious historians when they have turned to matters of transportation. Incidentally, special mention should be made of the chapters on the origin and development of the various state regulatory commissions; they are the most informative to be found on the subject.

Excellence in so many directions deserves warmest commendation. Further-

more, the splendid illustrations, adequate maps, and pleasing format are worthy of favorable comment.

As in the case of any ambitious undertaking, however, wherein the author deliberately risks sins of omission, these volumes have their weak spots. In his introduction, Mr. Kirkland says his main interest is in transportation "as a business enterprise." In many respects this is evident. Yet the study contains virtually nothing on what the transportation executives thought or why they acted as they did. Their actions are clear enough, and so is the public's reaction. But the motives and ideas of the company policy-makers remain woefully obscure. The explanation is not far to seek: the author has made almost no use of corporate records (such as minute books, letter books, and so on), private papers, or (with one notable exception) newspapers. These volumes, in fact, are based almost wholly on the vast store of published company reports, public documents, and privately printed pamphlets. All these items were, of course, deliberately written for the public eye, and whereas they undoubtedly give good reasons for what was done, it is open to question whether, in many cases, they include the real or compelling reasons or, of equal importance, all the reasons. Granted, corporate archives and private papers cannot tell the whole story, and they are inevitably one-sided. But can the whole story, or any phase of it, be definitely told without use of these sources? Can transportation be interpreted "as a business enterprise" without finding out what the business entrepreneurs thought and why? True, the final chapter lists a bewildering number of "masters," and methodically classifies them by education, prior occupation, origin, and civic interest. But as to their ideas on business in general or transportation in particular, there is not a word.

Men, Cities, and Transportation has no bibliography. The author simply says that footnotes will suffice, and that "a formal list of books would have been neither possible nor particularly valuable." With this it is difficult to agree. A bibliography even of secondary works, to say nothing of the many pamphlets (whose location is always a chore) would have been invaluable.

But even with these faults, if such they be, these volumes are unquestionably required reading for the economic, social, and railway historian, as well as for the sociologist. They are surprisingly pertinent for present-day railroaders who might learn a great deal about the origins and nature of their current problems. New Englanders, of course, will need no urging to take a long and careful look at this family portrait. Finally, the general reader who relishes a salty tale with never a dull moment will welcome this absorbing study.

Northwestern University

RICHARD C. OVERTON

THE BUTTERFIELD OVERLAND MAIL, 1857-1869: ITS ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION OVER THE SOUTHERN ROUTE TO 1861; SUBSEQUENTLY OVER THE CENTRAL ROUTE TO 1866; AND

Conkling and Conkling: The Butterfield Overland Mail 375

UNDER WELLS, FARGO AND COMPANY IN 1869. By Roscoe P. Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling. In three volumes. [American Trail Series, Volumes III, IV, V.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1947. Pp. 412; 446; plates. \$25.00.)

THE authors of this work have sought to perpetuate the memory of John Butterfield and, more particularly, that of his greatest achievement, the Butterfield Overland Mail. Their objective was nothing less than the traversing of the entire Butterfield Route of 1858 and the location of all the station sites from St. Louis to San Francisco via El Paso. Nearly all the stations or sites of stations have been located. The procedure used enables any summer traveler or site hunter to visit the places described, although probably few persons will care to undertake the laborious searches necessary to find the sites of the more remote stations. In Missouri and Arkansas the stations were usually log cabins often of the open hall type. In the southwest they resembled small quadrangular forts of adobe and stone. There are enough of both kinds still existing either entire or in ruins, to supply information needed for "restorations." In less fortunate instances only mounds of adobe remain hidden in the brush and in some cases just nothing at all.

The first volume of the set contains a sketch of John Butterfield, whose boyhood was spent in the Helderbergs, near Albany, New York. This region has been recently brought to the attention of the public in the book *Tin Horns and Calico*. Long before the rebellion against "feudalism" took place, Butterfield had left those uplands for the more fertile Mohawk Valley and taken up the business of inland transportation instead of farming. He died in 1869, one of the first citizens of Utica, and perhaps of America. Some of the greatest leaders of the Empire State were his pallbearers. Those who like politics miss accounts of his connections with politicians in the fifties, but perhaps the authors chose the better part by refusing to embroil their book or John Butterfield with politicians to any great extent. The carrying of the mail is their quest and they adhere to it. Beginning chapters cover the earlier history of western mail transportation, by inland trails as well as by isthmus and sea, prior to the inauguration of the Overland Mail service.

The chapters about the granting of the Butterfield contract plainly show that it was not just southern politics in the Buchanan regime that caused the southern route to be chosen. Climate, grades, water supply, and various other features of terrain entered into the decision. Those of us who have seen the passes of Placerville and the Donner pass, or who have studied the sufferings of the United States Army in the winter of 1858 in Utah, can heartily concur in the choice of the southern route despite the protest of Sacramento papers and Republican politicians of that day. It is also pleasant to find ample evidence of attempts at retrenchment by the administration following the panic of 1857, especially the attempts made by Postmaster General Holt in 1859. Even then the cost of carrying

the mail ran into the hundreds of thousands of dollars annually. The trail itself cost the company a cool million almost before a coach turned a wheel or a stage driver blew his horn—no small sum for the days before the Civil War. The result was a faster mail service than the isthmian route could offer.

The main chapters follow the main divisions of the route itself. The books have great value for the western genealogists, who care as much for the early pioneers of the great trails as their New England brethren do for the muster rolls of Bunker Hill and Lexington. Nearly every person who played a part in the Overland Mail service in 1858 has received honorable mention. Station masters, drivers, and those in administrative posts all receive their due. Their later careers are frequently traced. Thus many names have been salvaged from oblivion. The work on the sites themselves represents the effort of years of visitation and study. Some of these contributions can never be duplicated because some of the witnesses interviewed have since gone the way of all flesh. The last chapters of Volume II cover the decline of the Butterfield Trail because of civil war and the consequent rerouting of the service through Utah and Nevada to San Francisco.

The entire third volume is an atlas composed of a detailed map of the original route of 1858 based in large extent upon the narrative of the first through passenger, Waterman L. Ormsby, the New York *Herald's* special correspondent. Other items in the atlas include ground plans and views of various stations, time tables, instructions to drivers, and pictures of stagecoaches.

The books are well bound. The printer does not believe that capitals are needed when months of the year are mentioned. He remains loyal to his convictions throughout. The bibliography lists newspapers and documents in with the books. It is painful to have to point out a few errors in so painstaking a work. But in Volume II, page 305, the author gives the impression that California did not become a state until 1855. At another place the authors appear to be under the impression that the Central Pacific went to mountainous Virginia City, Nevada (II, 349), whereas the railroad sired Reno, instead. The index is extensive and contributes to the value of the study.

In conclusion, this set is not the type of reading sought by the tired businessman, or even the tired teacher after a hard day's work, but for the student of transportation, the searcher for historic sites, or the genealogist of pioneer western history it will remain a greatly prized source of information as long as interest in the Butterfield Overland or in the history of the West endures.

University of Nevada

PHILLIP G. AUCHAMPAUGH

THE DIXIE FRONTIER: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER FROM THE FIRST TRANSMONTANE BEGINNINGS TO THE CIVIL WAR. By *Everett Dick*, Research Professor of American

History, Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. xix, 374, xxv. \$4.50.)

To "present the every day life of those first settlers and pioneers" in the region stretching from southern Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri to the Gulf of Mexico during the period from the Revolution to the Civil War is a large task. In carrying it out Professor Dick enlarged his first-hand knowledge of the region and its older people by extensive research in newspapers and memoirs. The result is a valuable catalogue of the folkways and mores of frontier society.

The historian wishing to penetrate to the level of the basic social conditioning factors of this segment of the American people will find here much of the necessary qualitative material. But when he tries to make use of this for broad generalization or synthesis, or for the comparative study of this culture in relation to some other, he will find some essential elements missing. The chief weaknesses of the study are lack of quantitative evaluations, lack of attempts to establish averages or normal conditions, and insufficient attention to chronology.

The broad statement of the Turner "thesis" in the first sentence of the foreword, for example, leads one to hope for a discussion of the important problem of how long a region remained a "frontier" and in what ways the frontier characteristics were transmitted to later societies. But Professor Dick does not indicate any criteria for deciding when the "frontier" days of an area like Kentucky ended and when other influences became more important. Similarly there is a tendency, due no doubt to limitations of space, to slant different topics toward particular areas within the selected region, or to certain periods, to the exclusion of others.

Descriptions of economic activities and the economic implications of political, legal, and social activities do not seem to have their share of space. A chapter headed "Economic Life" runs only ten pages, and while economic life is actually discussed in several other sections the treatment seems based on less depth of research than in the case of other aspects of the culture. Lewis Atherton's *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America*, for example, is not listed in the bibliography. Census reports or other statistics are almost never referred to. One gains no idea of the density of population per square mile in different phases of frontier development, of the population of typical frontier towns, of the ratio of Negroes to whites, or of squatters to legal owners.

To such criticisms Professor Dick will no doubt say that such "structuring" and interpretation are not a part of recounting the usual incidents of daily life; that it is perfectly proper reporting to emphasize the essentially Southern, romantic, and heroic aspects of the Dixie Frontier in order to give the "feeling" of the culture. In any case, he has succeeded in doing this very well. But to the perhaps over-literal social scientist there is a certain lack of interrelationship between the pictures that makes it hard for him to pin them down to his kind of reality. I think that even students interested in American culture from non-social science

standpoints, will wish that Professor Dick had set his bright and interesting scenes in a more complex structural framework.

Harvard University

THOMAS C. COCHRAN

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, 1856-1943. By *Henry Aaron Yeomans*, Professor of Government Emeritus, Sometime Dean of Harvard College. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 564. \$6.00.)

UNDER A. Lawrence Lowell Harvard became a truly national university. An individualist himself, Lowell insisted that there be complete freedom of speech for the faculty. He never impugned the motives of others, and never defended his own. In one of his letters to a young man, he said, "In the long run, a man measures himself by the motives he attributes to others." In his book *Conflicts of Principle*, he wrote, "It is useful to repeat that many men have light enough to be visionary, but only he who clearly sees can behold a vision." He saw clearly, beheld the vision of a well-integrated and effective university, and always strove to fulfill that vision. He believed that his first duty was to raise college standards. For that purpose he instituted the present system of concentration and distribution because he believed that accurate knowledge of one broad subject and some knowledge of many were necessary to good citizenship and that the aim of the college was to create good citizens. He instituted the tutorial system, whereby the student was led to find out things for himself, and the reading period at the end of each half year when the student, free to use his time as he saw fit, might prove whether he was worth educating. Standards of scholarship mounted steadily so that finally Lowell could honestly welcome the graduating class to "the society of educated men."

"The problem of the college," Lowell said, "is a moral one, deepening the desire to develop one's own mind, body and character; and this is much promoted by living in surroundings and an atmosphere congenial to that object." Therefore he built the freshman halls and a little later developed the idea of the "houses," both of which have proved their educational value. The president never asked for any construction which did not have real educational purpose.

Lowell once said, "The great thinkers are the stars that guide the journey of the human race; sometimes they dwell in the sky alone; sometimes in groups; and where they are gathered together the cluster is a university." Thus his imagination played about the Society of Fellows, the last of his great achievements. Here, he felt, a cluster of brilliant young men could develop talents which might change the thinking of the world; here should be the final flowering of university life.

Lowell built up the university and yet found time for outside matters. He wrote many books. The best known, *The Government of England*, was said by his friend Lord Bryce to be the best book on the subject ever written, and it may well be classed with Bryce's own *American Commonwealth*. Lowell kept out of

active politics except when he was promoting the League to Enforce Peace and when he spoke in favor of the League of Nations. He always, however, inveighed against arbitrary power, whether exercised by overbearing corporations or by overbearing labor leaders. First and foremost he fought for freedom, for the rights of the individual, because he so earnestly believed in the dignity of man.

Henry A. Yeomans has brought out these characteristics and achievements in the book under review. He was peculiarly fitted to write the book because he and Lowell were close friends and he knew what Lowell counted as his most important activities. He has included admirably chosen quotations which give the book an almost autobiographical flavor. Lowell's whole life was service. He said of the university, "It is her privilege to open the gateway of knowledge to mankind, but it is no less her function to mould character." Because he was a deeply religious man, he always used the moral touchstone, "the real test of different forms of government, is the moral standing they induce." Therefore in all his multifarious tasks his underlying purpose was the building of character. That made him a great American.

Washington, D. C.

W. R. CASTLE

FERNANDO WOOD OF NEW YORK. By *Samuel Augustus Pleasants*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 536.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. 216. \$3.00.)

MAYOR Fernando Wood achieved a sort of one-sentence immortality in American history by proposing in January, 1861, that New York become a free city, on friendly commercial terms with both the new Confederacy and the residual United States. Mr. Pleasants has admirably pieced together the fuller story of Wood's unusually long and active political career. The report is not likely to be much enlarged or radically changed by any future investigation.

Wood, who might with some justice be called the first modern mayor, with overtones both creditable and discreditable, was born in Philadelphia in 1812. Brought to New York as a boy, he received a fair education, and at the age of twenty-four was the proprietor of a water-front grog shop. Handsome, affable, possessed of an unshakable *savoir-faire* and an unfailing memory for names and faces, he soon built up a loyal following among a clientele with quite as many votes (on occasion, indeed, more) as any equal number of more respectable citizens. He joined Tammany Hall, rose rapidly in the organization, and within four years was elected to Congress. When he failed to be re-elected he turned to shipping and real estate speculation in New York and San Francisco. He was repeatedly charged with financial dishonesty but succeeded in becoming independently wealthy.

He was mayor from 1854 to 1857 and from 1859 to 1861. When he lost control of Tammany he organized his own Mozart Hall, but was gradually over-

shadowed by the growing power of Boss Tweed. He retained, however, the support of his own district. In 1866 he was re-elected to Congress, serving—except for one term—until his death in 1881. There he was a constructive influence for a more rational tariff and debt policy and rose to the chairmanship of the Ways and Means Committee and a considerable degree of social respectability.

Mr. Pleasants leaves little doubt that as a municipal politician Wood was corrupt and did not hesitate to use fraud and force to win and hold office. He is also pictured, with his brother Benjamin, editor of the *Daily News*, as a consistent opponent of the war. But he is shown, too, to have had farsighted views on the need for municipal home rule and a responsible mayoralty. He fought to protect Central Park against private encroachments, set up a modern police force, and advocated public works as a cushion for unemployment during the panic of 1857.

This volume pretty well exhausts the printed materials bearing on the subject and utilizes the more immediate manuscript sources. The fact that the latter are fragmentary leaves us with a series of glimpses of the central figure rather than with a fully developed portrayal. It is possible that an exhaustive search of the collected papers of other politicians of the period might yield additional information, but the gleanings would probably be scanty and of little significance. Men of the type of Fernando Wood are unlikely to commit to paper much that might be revealing.

George Washington University

WOOD GRAY

THE AGE OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION, 1929-1941. By *Dixon Wecter*, Chairman of the Research Group, Huntington Library. [A History of American Life, Volume XIII.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xii, 362 [trade ed.]; xiv, 434 [text ed.]. \$5.00.)

DIXON Wecter's volume presumably brings to a conclusion the "History of American Life" series. Planned in the early 1920's, the first four volumes of the series were printed in 1928 with others appearing in the succeeding years. The first printing of the Wecter volume, which came out in the early summer, was designed for the general trade. Its cover is different from that of the series, but the inside format is the same with two exceptions. It omits the editors' foreword and includes only an occasional footnote. The college edition, which appeared at the end of the summer, is bound in the usual cover, includes the editors' foreword, and the usual footnotes are printed on seventy pages at the end of the book.

Except for this unfortunate modification in the placing of footnotes, the Wecter book follows generally the trails marked out by the editors and authors in the earlier twelve volumes. It deals with various aspects of American life as expressed in ways of living, the effects of economic impacts, intellectual reactions to current conditions and other influences at work during the period. The style flows smoothly and the scholarship is adequate. Its author has been long interested in

social history. More than any other volume in the series, however, the Wecter book is concerned with the federal government and its influence on the life of the people. This is evident from the crash of 1929 to the attack on Pearl Harbor, the episode which ends the book. This influence appears to be as inevitable in the social and intellectual history of these years as it is in the political and economic. Under the circumstances President Roosevelt dominates the volume more than does the chief executive in any other of the series; the effects of federal legislation are an important part of the volume. Although the President is recognized as an improviser, as one whose experiments often miscarried and one who failed to solve the great problem of unemployment, his efforts are handled with sympathy and approval.

The first third of the book is largely devoted to the New Deal and its legislation. Then follow two chapters on the effects of depression and the resulting legislation on town, country, and the various regions. After this there are chapters on youth and age, on the new leisure class, on literature and the arts, and on science and the consumer, with a final chapter on the effect of foreign affairs on the American scene. Unlike most of the authors of this series, Professor Wecter lived through the period which he describes. Moreover, he had the use of Gallup polls (mentioned nineteen times), innumerable government documents, and other material not always available to earlier writers in the series. The events were close at hand and the material tremendous. The treatment, however, is clear; it moves rapidly and is objective.

Despite the excellence of the Wecter book, it has the weakness of certain other volumes of the series in that it emphasizes description rather than reflection or interpretation. It often tells what happened but not why, and develops the obvious rather than the intangible results. What were the effects of the depression on the American mind and upon the competitive economic system? Was the depression simply a piece of bad luck which left no permanent influence on the attitude of people? This volume does not cover all social history, but it includes enough to make it an indispensable aid in understanding the "Age of the Great Depression" and in teaching a course covering that decade. The twenty-five pages of bibliography add greatly to its value.

No review of the volume should end without a word of appreciation for the brilliant pioneering work of the editors of the series, Professors Schlesinger and Fox. It was a labor covering some twenty years and was done with meticulous care and a sure feeling for the essential elements of the story. Their efforts and those of the fourteen authors who contributed to "A History of American Life" have established a preliminary pattern at least for the study of American social history and made possible its teaching. This series marks an important milestone in American historiography.

Smith College

HAROLD U. FAULKNER

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE COMING OF THE WAR, 1941: A STUDY IN APPEARANCES AND REALITIES. By *Charles A. Beard*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 614. \$5.00.)

THE argument of this book is epitomized in these words taken from its concluding chapter:

If the precedents set by President Roosevelt in conducting foreign affairs, as reported in the records of the Congressional Committee on Pearl Harbor and other documents, are to stand unimpeached and be accepted henceforth as valid in law and morals, then: . . . the President of the United States . . . may, after publicly announcing one foreign policy, secretly pursue the opposite and so conduct foreign and military affairs as to maneuver a designated foreign power into firing the first shot in an attack upon the United States and thus avoid the necessity of calling upon Congress in advance to exercise its constitutional power to deliberate upon a declaration of war [pp. 582-83].

Though the author has collected a mass of evidence in support of this theory it is far from conclusive. On the other hand, he brings out a number of facts which modify considerably the contemporary picture of our pre-Pearl Harbor policy as it was presented by the late President himself, in the publications of the Department of State, and by friendly unofficial accounts.

Beard has shown that President Roosevelt was interpreting the Lend Lease program as a "peace measure" when he was already aware that mere economic aid to the enemies of the Axis was not likely to turn the tide. Similarly, it appears that the President directed the Navy in a program of increasing support of Britain in the battle of the Atlantic. Because some steps were taken in secret and others were described in terms of an expanded "continental defense" the public was not aware of the full extent of our involvement. With some justification, also, the author points to the misleading reserve of official statements issued at the time of the Atlantic Conference which soft-pedaled our growing co-operation with the British. His extensive analysis of the Pearl Harbor investigation will be useful to many, and even those who disagree with his point of view will accept some of his points in criticism of the majority report of the committee which specifically whitewashed all high officials in Washington, though it had amply documented the prevalence of blundering and ineptitude in the handling of intelligence.

Having said the above, it is necessary to stress the fact that the book is an isolationist treatise. It is, in all probability, the last isolationist book that will be written by a progressive democrat and loyal devotee of the liberal American tradition. Those who still appeal to our nostalgia for an age in which Americans could work out their destiny with slight regard for the commotions of Europe or Asia seem to be victims either of Soviet propaganda or of their own narrow self interest; they are no longer men in the LaFollette tradition, blinded to the significance of foreign threats by the intensity of their zeal for domestic reform. In common fairness it must be admitted, too, that many who assumed the interventionist posi-

tion before Pearl Harbor did not see clearly the implications of that stand. The alternative to isolationism, unfortunately for all, did not prove to be collective security and growing international government but a voyage on uncharted seas in which the ship of state needs every assistance if it is to survive the perils of navigation.

Beard believed that the Roosevelt policy of 1941 was mistaken (1) because we are now, after winning the war, in a difficult international position, and (2) because it involved so great an extension of executive authority as to subvert fundamental principles of the Constitution. We may have moved from the frying pan into the fire, or vice versa, since 1940, but to condemn the policy which led up to Pearl Harbor on that account it would be necessary to show what our situation might be today had Hitler won the European war and the United States had remained aloof. It is obviously an impossible task to inquire into the kind of infernal broth in which we would be simmering in that case. Further, many of our current difficulties grow out of decisions made long after Pearl Harbor and thus lie outside the scope of this work.

On the author's constitutional views this reviewer is not competent to sit in judgment. Authorities appear to be in disagreement on the extent to which war and postwar executive authority can be justified as within the scope of our basic law. It may be relevant, however, to recall the large assumptions of power by many presidents who served long before the first Roosevelt, in Beard's opinion, started the country down the road to imperialism through usurpation of authority. Jefferson was not above acting, even beyond his own view of constitutional limitation, in furtherance of what he believed to be in the public interest. The same President anticipated Franklin Roosevelt in doing a good deal of scheming about which the public knew little. (Witness, the Two Million Act and related intrigues.) Lincoln's conduct of the presidency in the spring and summer of 1861 also went as far, if not farther, in advance of congressional authorization as anything done by the squire of Hyde Park. Beard has pictured the towering heights to which presidential power has risen of late. Americans who believe with him that it is necessary to guard against excessive or irresponsible power in the White House might be wise to leave the strictly constitutional question to the lawyers and get to work on a much needed streamlining of executive legislative relations.

The volume is longer than it needs to be; partly because much data is piled up to support viewpoints which would stand as well, or as ill, with less elaboration of material; partly because there are numerous minor digressions which contribute little to the main theme; partly, also because of the threefold arrangement of the work in sections entitled "Appearances" "Unveiling Realities" and "Realities as Described by the Pearl Harbor Documents." Repetition might have been avoided, though a certain dramatic effect might have been lost with a simpler plan.

The picture of "Appearances" presented in Part I is mainly limited to official

pronouncements of policy and press and congressional comment with little attention to the background of action, at home and abroad, which formed an essential part of these "Appearances." The attack opens with the statement that "President Roosevelt entered the year 1941 carrying moral responsibility for his covenants with the American people to keep this nation out of war" (p. 3). This seems to be an unjustifiable use of the word "covenant," but it is repugnant to this reviewer to brush aside the statements made by the President in 1940 as "mere campaign oratory" as some of his admirers seem inclined to do. Though serious declarations of purpose, they should not be considered permanently binding, relating, as they did, to a given time and situation. In 1939 Mr. Roosevelt said "this nation will remain a neutral nation." In January, 1941, he advocated "all-out aid of Britain short of war," a far cry from neutrality, and a public admission that his position had changed. Similar changes took place during the year 1941. Beard's moral indignation at such shifts of line seems to be based on the assumption (in which he is joined by many admirers of the President) that Franklin D. Roosevelt, at an early stage of the war, formulated a long-range policy for bringing the country into the conflict, a view for which there is no proof. Everything which we know about the way the President conducted his high office, both in domestic and foreign affairs, points to his use of highly flexible and improvised methods. Basic aims were not sharply defined and reversals of policy were frequent. Mr. Roosevelt always crossed bridges when he came to them.

The dilemma he faced in the spring of 1941 was a terrible one. The country and the President were averse to war, the country and the President had also embraced the idea that the survival of the enemies of Hitler and the Japanese was essential to our own safety. These two positions became increasingly incompatible and the President never indicated clearly to the country how dangerous the situation had become, but the fact that he avoided putting the issue before the country in a clear-cut manner is quite another thing from "maneuvering the country into war," a phrase repeated with great frequency in this book. Strangely enough, Beard's attack coincides, in part, with the friendly criticism of Secretary of War Stimson in his recently published memoirs. Stimson felt that the President was too indirect, and that he should have assumed a more active leadership when he saw the approaching danger of war. Presidential inaction at this time, he felt, left the turn of events in the hands of the Axis powers, while the country wasted valuable time in false hopes. The same lines of action which the cabinet officer felt to have been weakness and undue consideration of isolationist opinion are interpreted by Beard to have been pure hypocrisy and evidence of inordinate assumption of power.

Through the use of testimony presented by Admiral Stark and other records of the Pearl Harbor Committee, Beard has shown how far the Navy had become involved in belligerent activity before Pearl Harbor. A comparison of this account with that of S. E. Morison in *The Battle of the Atlantic, 1939-1943* shows

approximately the same record of action, though the interpretation is sharply different. Beard is mistaken in his view that convoying of belligerent merchantmen had begun earlier in the year, but the record of close naval co-operation with Britain goes far beyond anything the President allowed to transpire at the time. The conclusion Beard suggests is that Mr. Roosevelt hoped to provoke an incident at sea which might precipitate American entry into the war. It may also be argued that he was taking minimum steps to prevent an imminent collapse of British resistance and that he still hoped that Hitler would not accept the challenge and choose the path of all-out hostilities.

It is in connection with the Far Eastern crisis that Beard's conclusions seem most forced. A long-range study of Japanese American relations since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict would make it clear that it was highly dubious whether the Konoye proposal for a meeting with President Roosevelt held any real promise of settlement. The extracts from the Konoye memoirs published by the Congressional Joint Committee make it appear highly probable that it was an attempt to gain advantage through mere verbal concessions. The caution of Mr. Hull in this affair is strongly supported by his testimony before the committee, and since then even more convincingly in the *Memoirs of Cordell Hull* which Beard did not have an opportunity to use. In the same vein, the American note of November 26, 1941, is characterized as an ultimatum though it made no threats and set no time limit for acceptance and did not attempt to break off negotiations, the ground being that this government had reason to believe it would be unacceptable to the Japanese. It is also declared to be a reversion to the open door policy which is described as pure imperialism. Whatever it may have been in 1900 the grounds for our effort in 1941 to halt Japanese expansion far transcended the interest of any business groups in the Orient. More important still, however, is that Secretary Hull felt that the game was up, as far as diplomacy was concerned, before this note was sent and that the Japanese had already made their final offer. The character of this note, therefore, had scant importance in determining the outcome. Sinister purpose is also seen by Beard in the failure to work out a temporary *modus vivendi* at the last moment. The reason for this has never been fully explained. Chinese opposition, alone, would hardly seem to explain the collapse of the plan. It may simply have been due to the difficulty of getting prompt action from the ABCD powers involved. Fear of public opposition to appeasement in this country may also have played a part, but in no case does the step or the motives for taking it detract from the fact that the Japanese had already made up their minds.

The author insists a great deal on the significance of a passage in Secretary Stimson's diary about "maneuvering the Japanese into firing the first shot." Taken in context the phrase is harmless for it relates not to any deep-laid plot but to questions in Stimson's mind when the Japanese assault appeared imminent. General Marshall made it clear in his testimony that the phrase had no military

significance whatsoever. Above all else, the evidence in the Pearl Harbor documents is overwhelming that everyone in Washington, and particularly the Army and Navy, desperately wanted time for further defense preparations. In these circumstances any needling of the Japanese was unthinkable. Beard seems to have wandered down a bypath opened by the minority group in the Pearl Harbor Committee which brought them no results.

Everyone who knew the opinions of the late distinguished historian on foreign policy expected this book to be hostile to the Roosevelt administration, but many would have welcomed a treatment in a vein as relatively sober as that of Beard's earlier volume, *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940*, which avoided sweeping conclusions unwarranted by the record. It is regrettable, therefore, that his last work should have been so largely an example of the difficulty of writing without partisanship on a subject so deeply a part of the emotional experience of the author as the events which preceded the recent world war.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

THE RISING SUN IN THE PACIFIC, 1931-APRIL 1942. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume III.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1948. Pp. xxviii, 411. \$6.00.)

THIS is the third in a general series of books being prepared by Professor Morison on the operations of the United States Navy in World War II. The first volume to appear on the war in the Pacific, the book covers primarily the period from Pearl Harbor through the Doolittle raid on Tokyo in April, 1942. It is a period in which the Navy suffered "the most shattering blows in its history." As the author points out, these five months were "neither pleasant to investigate nor inspiring to read about." They comprise a continuous series of reverses beginning with Pearl Harbor and followed by the Philippines, Guam, Wake, and the many encounters in the losing battle for Malaysia. About all the Navy could offer a victory-starved nation was a "tactical victory" at Balikpapan and the ineffectual carrier strikes on Kwajalein, Maloelap, Wotje, Jaluit, Wake, and Marcus. Only toward the end of the period, in the strike on Lae and Salamaua, was the Navy able to give the Japanese an inkling of what was in store for them. Through it all, the heroism and devotion to duty of naval personnel of all ranks stands out like a beacon.

The general reader, for whom the author says the volume is written, will find little to complain about and much to praise. Mr. Morison, as usual, writes smoothly and interestingly. His chapter on "The Attack on Pearl Harbor" is not only the longest and the best in the book, but it is by all odds the most vivid description of that catastrophe that this reviewer has yet seen. The reader is struck here, as he

is throughout, by the earnest striving of the author for objectivity. Certainly the Navy does not escape unscathed. In general other chapters on combat operations are of the same high quality and reflect the author's thorough mastery of his subject.

In the field of international relations, however, Mr. Morison is on less familiar ground. The causes of the war go back much farther than 1920, or even World War I, and they were much more fundamental than any of the "incidents" which the author discusses. These were only symptoms. As early as 1908, the Navy itself had recognized Japan as the "probable enemy" in the Pacific. The files of the Navy Department, to which the author had free access, should show why that conclusion was reached. If they do not, the State Department files almost certainly do; and Mr. Grew, to whom Professor Morison acknowledges his indebtedness, must be aware of the sources of information, if not of the information itself. At any rate, Part I, "Panay through Pearl," is the least satisfying part of the book.

Many will also question Mr. Morison's announced decision to omit a full discussion of the responsibility "for the surprise at Pearl Harbor." To refer his audience to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee's forty volumes of hearings and to its voluminous report is not a very satisfactory way of solving this problem. The author well knows that the "general reader" will not permit himself to become involved in such a mass of material no matter how easy of access it may be. In the sixteen pages which he does devote to the subject of responsibility, Mr. Morison sets forth his own opinion, plus that of Admiral King, that both Admirals Stark and Kimmel were in some measure culpable. But the defense of Admiral Stark (pp. 140, 141) and the later praises for Admiral Kimmel (pp. 222, 227, 235, 249, 250) tend to nullify the effect of the author's judgment, the net impression being that the real responsibility must have rested higher up, or in other executive departments. If the author holds this opinion, he would undoubtedly find many to agree with him. An adequate discussion of the "responsibility" question could easily have been incorporated in this book, it could have done no one any harm, and it would have contributed greatly to the reader's understanding.

A number of smaller matters perhaps should be mentioned. The author in one place (p. 165) states that if "the Japanese could make the islands [the Philippines] untenable as a fleet and air base, it mattered little to them how long and desperate a defense the United States ground forces put up." A little later (p. 200) he takes an opposite view: "The sacrifice of General Wainwright's men and the remaining naval units did deny Manila Bay to the enemy until May 1942, and that was important." The author also cites interviews, statements, or action reports (pp. 37, 55, 62, 125, 196, 197, 319) without giving the dates. Such lapses may very well be attributable to haste in preparing the manuscript for publication.

Washington, D. C.

OUTTEN J. CLINARD

THE PROCUREMENT AND TRAINING OF GROUND COMBAT TROOPS. By *Robert R. Palmer*, *Bell I. Wiley*, and *William R. Keast*, of the Historical Section, Army Ground Forces. [United States in World War II: The Army Ground Forces.] (Washington: Historical Division, Department of the Army. 1948. Pp. xi, 696. \$4.50.)

IN 1914 Bryan said that a million Americans could spring to arms between sunrise and sundown should their country need them. This absurdity was in the best Minute Man tradition. Well-informed people knew it was absurd, but on military matters how many people were well informed? Thanks to the historical program inaugurated during the recent war, citizens, as well as military men, who wish to understand better what it really means, in a military sense, for the United States to be an active world power can become well informed. Here is a scholarly account of our war effort on a scale commensurate with the effort and with the importance of the subject. Official documents are its foundation, but these are supplemented by personal interviews held while recollections were fresh and free from the second thinking characteristic of some memoirs. This is the work of trained scholars, not journalists revealing top secrets, nor public relations experts exploiting human interest. It is hard at this time to imagine more practical usefulness for historical scholarship.

This is administrative history, never a lively subject. But one cannot over-emphasize the fact that the raising, equipping, training, and moving of a modern army is an administrative matter. Indeed, it may be urged that administrative "know-how" explains in large part the astounding achievement of waging successfully two transoceanic wars at once. No one with any comprehension of the facts will sneer at so-called swivel-chair soldiers. Combat is only the last phase of a long, complicated process, and efficiency all along the line is essential to victory. But this volume does not pretend to picture anything more than the struggle for efficiency. The authors, in fact, are particularly interested in the obstacles to success. Analyses of failure offer guides for improvement and for future planning, instructive indications of persisting and difficult problems.

Preparation for modern war is fundamentally a question of the most effective employment of diversified man power. One theme of this volume is that too many intelligent potential leaders were drawn off into the Navy and air force early in the war, to the grave detriment of the infantry in a war which was to make unprecedented demands upon infantry soldiers and their junior officers. Too much free competition for brains and character among the services was not the best policy since it produced a situation where "leaders were scarcest where the fighting was thickest." Or considering the consequences of assigning to the infantry the leftovers from the other arms the authors observe that it is clearly "dangerous to entrust lethal weapons to men" in the lowest intelligence category,

"and wasteful to develop elaborate and expensive equipment and then place it in the hands of men incapable of using it properly."

After procurement and allocation of personnel, the other main topic is training. What program will, in the shortest possible time, turn millions of civilians into fighting men, capable of acting in groups and of handling numerous mechanical weapons, some of them new in warfare, from carbines to tank destroyers? This calls for "high speed mass instruction" in which men must learn by doing. The program improved on World War I, but was far from satisfactory. "The training goal of World War II of having all divisions prepared to enter combat as thoroughly trained and consolidated battle teams, emerging as such through carefully planned stages of training, was attained only in part." Every citizen concerned about universal military training will find his thinking helped by reading about the difficulties in training the wartime armies and the efforts to meet these at replacement training centers, even if he finds no clear-cut answer for or against universal military training. But he will become aware of the significant distinction between basic training for individuals and the training of units, from squads to divisions, as teams. The latter must have "a tactical slant," experienced instructors at every level, and the opportunity to approximate actual battle conditions. (This reviewer regrets the omission of any reference to casualties in the realistic battle training.) A detail for academic readers concerns the Army specialized training program which, it is said, "served no need recognized as immediate by most elements in the Army."

In the nature of things this volume is written from the point of view of Headquarters, Army Ground Forces. Perhaps it is angled, but it is not biased. Let us hope that the historians of the War Department, the inspector general's office, and the Army service forces will co-ordinate their discussion with this volume, and present with equal clarity the reasoning behind the policies which those organizations pursued. Policies are matters of opinion and "it is impossible to say in [a] conflict of opinion [that] one side is right and the other wrong," but it is very useful to learn the circumstances in which decisions are made, the suggested alternatives, and the thinking from which policies develop. This story shows how planning is necessarily from the top down, and that it must be statistical. The topical treatment leads to some unavoidable repetition. It is significant of the thoroughness and honesty of this history that those who wrote it show that they knew the limitations of the written record. They make no effort to gloss over the expedients used for working the system so as to get by on paper, but they attempted by personal observation and interview to get behind the paper record, and they are particularly interested in the circumstances which served to stimulate such expedients. This is truth-seeking in a truly scientific sense, on a huge scale, and in the public interest.

Williams College

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE MAN IN THE STREET: THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION ON FOREIGN POLICY. By *Thomas A. Bailey*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. 334. \$5.00.)

POOR old John Q. Public! He is a combination whipping boy and Delphic Oracle for politicians, an inconstant and fickle mistress for artists and actors, and a "problem" for social scientists. He gets praised and blamed—in almost equal measure and for reasons of which he is mainly unaware. At one time he speaks as the voice of God. At others, he is a great beast howling in blind fury at forces he cannot control and does not understand. Walter Lippmann called him a "phantom"! Charles Dudley Warner says "public opinion is stronger than the Legislature, and nearly as strong as the Ten Commandments." We are told alternately that public opinion rules and that it is but the product and pawn of propagandists who constitute the "invisible" government.

Comes now Thomas Bailey to say that "the man in the street," an alias for John Q. Public, is at the same time the most powerful, the most ignorant, the most irresponsible and fickle force in American democracy.

"The most powerful nation in the world today," he says, "is the United States and consequently the most powerful body of public opinion in existence is formed by the American people. What the government in Washington does or fails to do in the field of foreign affairs will depend largely on the wishes of our citizens, and what our citizens demand or fail to demand will affect mightily the destiny of this planet."

Professor Bailey proceeds to inquire how well we discharge this stupendous responsibility and how well equipped we are to wield this vast power. The answer is not very flattering to us or reassuring to the rest of the planet whose destiny depends on us. From this analysis it appears that the "sovereign citizen" is apathetic, ignorant, prejudiced, and capricious. "A nation-wide poll in 1946," says Professor Bailey, "indicated that not two adults in ten had ever sent letters or telegrams to their representatives in Congress. . . . In 1942, only half the American voters could name the Congressman from their district and only 65 per cent of this select group knew his attitude before Pearl Harbor on the vitally important issue of staying out of war."

These are but two of many illustrations cited by Professor Bailey to demonstrate the apathy and ignorance of the American people in the field of foreign policy. His data comes from a wide reading of books, newspapers, and magazines, and from a careful study of public opinion polls on foreign affairs.

As a people, we wobble all over the lot from complete indifference to sudden panic, from pacifism to spread-eagleism, from twisting the British lion's tail one day to sentimental toadying to British aristocrats the next. Hence our foreign policy has been confused, inconsistent, and often contradictory. We denounced Japanese aggression in China and then proceeded to make that aggression possible by sup-

plying Japan with the tools of conquest. We fought World War I to "make the world safe for democracy," took the lead in creating the League of Nations, and then turned our backs on that organization when it was established. We have talked isolationism and have practiced participation in power politics from the beginning of our history as a nation.

All of which is true enough if not very original. Professor Bailey, however, is not content to reveal only the seamy side. For example, we are told, on the one hand, that "the American masses have repeatedly been called upon to exercise their limited gifts for longsightedness, and *their record is conspicuously poor*" (my italics). But on the other hand, we read that "the decisions of the American voter have often been wrong and faulty but . . . *they have more often been basically sound . . . on the whole the American people have done better than a dictatorship or an aristocracy could have done for them and they have done much better than the logician had any right to expect*" (my italics).

"A favorite preoccupation of the ordinary voter," says Professor Bailey, "is to criticize the State Department for not having a foreign policy. . . . A dictatorship like that of Hitler can project centuries-long programs. . . . But the State Department either cannot do so at all or cannot do so as easily. Why? The answer is that a *short-sighted public* will not let it." And yet, says Professor Bailey, "Mr. Joseph Doakes can hardly be blamed for changing his mind overnight about foreign policy, when his own government in Washington has sometimes set him a bad example by doing the same thing."

But, says the author, in spite of apparent capriciousness, American public opinion has time and again compelled American statesmen to abandon new policies and come back to the basic fundamentals of American national interest. "On occasion," he says, "our Presidents have sought to reverse our foreign policy in a manner contrary to the national interest, and they have been hurled back after running headlong into the rock of public opinion."

These apparent inconsistencies and contradictions can, of course, be explained and even reconciled, as Professor Bailey would be the first to insist. But cannot this also be said of the contradictions and inconsistencies of John Q. Public? In politics, the shortest distance between two points is rarely a straight line. What may today appear confusing and even contradictory may, in the long view, appear more clearly as a step forward toward the goal we seek.

Professor Bailey has done us all a service in setting forth the faults and foibles of "the man in the street" as he faces foreign policy. No one can quarrel with him when he writes about "The Perils of Apathy," "The Incubus of Ignorance," "The Curse of Caprice," or "The Fruits of Isolation." It is regrettable, however, that this fascinating and useful study should be marred as it is by a kind of academic self-righteousness and the use of wisecracks and bad puns. For example, his references to "the atomic *fireworks* at Hiroshima," and his statement that "if the politician will but fashion a better claptrap, the vulgar herd will beat a path to his door,"

are but samples of many labored pseudo-witticisms. There is more than a touch of snobbery in the book. For example: "In the period before Andrew Jackson, our Presidents were distinguished leaders, experienced in statescraft both at home and abroad and not identified with the untutored crowd." The author refers to "Harry S. Truman, the ex-haberdasher," with an ill-concealed sneer at the President's humble origin. Professor Bailey's sound and legitimate plea for better-trained diplomats and statesmen is marred by such statements as this: "We need statesmen, not politicians picked from the ruck of the masses."

Certainly no one can quarrel with Professor Bailey's conclusions, namely, that "We should attract our best brains into government service . . ." "We should exercise extreme care in the election of our public servants. . . . It is better to vote for the right senator than later to write to the wrong senator." "We should delegate more responsibility to our public officials after we have gone to pains to select the ablest ones . . ." "We should educate for statesmanship at the same time we are educating for citizenship . . ." "We should develop more tolerance . . ." "We should train ourselves to keep our heads in time of crisis. The mob is always wrong . . ." "We should keep vigilant and demand of our government that in so far as possible it take us into its confidence." "We should above all undertake the Gargantuan task of raising the educational and apperceptive level of our entire population . . ."

To all these ends *The Man in the Street* can make a significant contribution.
University of California PETER H. ODEGARD

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

By *Malbone W. Graham*, Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1946.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 279. \$3.25.)

PROFESSOR Graham has chosen, in these Shaw lectures, to deal with a large theme, and the choice is to be applauded. He is concerned with the role of the United States in dealing with the international community, with the gradual acceptance by this country of a moral responsibility for affairs beyond its borders. The theme is an important one and deserves the fullest study.

But many of the aspects of it are merely alluded to in the preface to this volume. Professor Graham himself alludes in his preface to "the matters of minority guarantees after the Congress of Berlin, our interest in the handling of Morocco in 1880, our deep pre-occupation with the partition of Africa in 1884-86, and our very active share in the settlement of the Samoan question at the end of the eighties." He alludes, too, to American sympathy with oppressed nationalities, and to American participation in the Hague conferences, and to American interest in an International Court of Justice. It would seem as if each of these subjects deserved further attention in the general development of his theme.

On the matters which he does examine, the entry of the United States into the family of states, the recognition of the Latin-American republics, the United States and the European state system, the reconstruction of the united international order, 1914-19, the United States and the territorial settlement, and the United States and the reorganization of the international community, Professor Graham more often performs a useful work of summation, than a piece of novel interpretation. Perhaps the most interesting pages of his book are those which deal with the Greek question, altogether too little noticed by students of American diplomacy.

There can be no question, of course, of where the author's sympathies lie. Nor is there any reason, in the opinion of this reviewer, why he should conceal them. He obviously welcomes the rise of the United States to a position of world responsibility, and accepts the moral implications of this development. Yet, perhaps, the general tone of his book suggests a greater degree of idealism in American foreign policy than a fuller examination of the story would warrant. It is necessary for us not to exaggerate in these matters; an overmoralistic view of our own past and of our present policies can do great harm. There should, however, be more attempts at such broad synthesis of American diplomatic history.

The volume contains no bibliography.

University of Rochester

DEXTER PERKINS

THE AGRARIAN REVOLT IN WESTERN CANADA: A SURVEY SHOWING AMERICAN PARALLELS. By *Paul F. Sharp*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 204. \$3.00.)

It has become the fashion on the part of students of Canadian history to look upon Jack Canuck as a reflection, slightly out of focus it is true but nevertheless a reflection, of his cousin Jonathan. Terminology and concepts derived from United States history have been applied freely to the Canadian story. Such fashions are not without appeal after many years of nationalist history; but as in the case of all fashions there is the danger of exaggeration. Historians must not forget that however superficially obvious historical parallels may appear, there are often dissimilarities of a fundamental nature which must not be overlooked.

In this very useful book on the history of the Progressive movement in Canada during the 1920's the author has stressed the essential unity in the North American agricultural frontier. He makes the point that this "frontier" did not come to an end in the United States in 1890 but extended northwards into Canada where consequent problems of production, transportation, relations with eastern industrial areas were markedly similar to those in the western United States. All this is to the good. But, in stressing the similarities the author does not always give the same weight to the dissimilarities. He is not unaware of them; he simply does not give them the emphasis which, in the opinion of this reviewer, they deserve.

Fundamentally, Canadian economy is international, that of the United States national. The Canadian farmer is particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in the world market, for it is in that market that he must dispose of his produce. The tariff has, therefore, always been a greater source of irritation to the farmer of Canada than to his United States counterpart. Another peculiar factor in the rise of militant agrarianism in western Canada was the extension of military conscription to farmers' sons in 1918.

Dr. Sharp is an adherent of the Turner school. He therefore emphasizes the great importance of environmentalism. In so doing he might have gone further back into the past and told us something of the settlers' unions and the farmers' union in the 1880's and the part they played in the agitation leading to the Northwest rebellion. He might also have traced more fully the continuity of the agrarian revolt through the formation of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association in 1902 and the Canadian Council of Agriculture in 1909.

Although environment is not to be ignored, the importance of acquired tradition must not be minimized. This reviewer cannot help feeling that the importation of American populist ideas in the baggage trains of American immigrants to the Canadian plains was a particularly decisive factor: one need but refer to the similarity of organizational nomenclature, the extensive quoting of American writings in Canadian farm journals, and the number of ex-Americans who were leaders in Canadian farm movements, such as J. W. Leedy, a former Populist governor of Kansas, Bert Huffman, a "veteran" of Coxey's army, S. E. Haight, a Nonpartisan Leaguer from North Dakota, George Bevington, of "funny money" fame, and Henry Wise Wood, "the man from Missouri" whose ideas of economic group government played so great a part in the history of the United Farmers of Alberta.

Partisanship, conscious or unconscious, is probably unavoidable when one deals with recent or contemporary history. Such bias as is found in this book is not deliberate; it arises from the fact that the author has relied extensively upon the publications of the Nonpartisan League, the United Farmers of Alberta and the *Grain Growers' Guide*. Newspapers as historical sources have a limited value and one cannot but wonder whether a few more oral interviews with surviving participants might not have yielded interesting information which may otherwise be lost and which is not to be found in the official files and newspapers. However, one may say on Dr. Sharp's behalf that any apparent partisanship on his side has been safeguarded by academic caution.

There are few errors with which the reviewer may chide the author. Moranville (p. 9) should be Morinville: the Yorkton Rangers (p. 38) should be the Yorkton Company of Home Guards: R. B. Bennett did not exactly wage a "desperate fight" (p. 151) in Calgary West in 1921; indeed, Mr. Bennett was too much inclined to take his seat for granted and spent little time in his constituency during the election campaign.

These are, however, but minor flaws. They do not materially detract from the value of a book which goes some distance toward filling a gap in Canadian historiography and which makes a real contribution in directing our attention to the parallels in the growth and development of the American and Canadian west.

University of British Columbia

GEORGE F. G. STANLEY

THE CANADIAN ARMY, 1939-1945: AN OFFICIAL HISTORICAL SUMMARY. By Colonel C. P. Stacey, Director, Historical Section, General Staff. (Ottawa: Published by Authority of the Minister of National Defence by Edmond Cloutier, King's Printer. 1948. Pp. xv, 354.)

This volume is representative of a kind of historiography on which all the English-speaking nations engaged in World War II have adventured. It is the work of professional historians who themselves took part in the war, generally in uniform. It is official in the sense that the means and access to records are being provided by the governments concerned. It is being written promptly. It can be good history, within the limits imposed by a foreshortened perspective, because the historians have at their disposal not only the full record of the Allied forces, in considerable part collected or elicited by themselves during the war, but also the records and testimony of the enemy.

The Canadian Army, 1939-1945 has all these characteristics, but it is the first attempt to put the whole war effort of a national army into a one-volume narrative. It is written "for the people of Canada." Like Professor Morison's history, it has a broad appeal to the serious public, but Colonel Stacey has undertaken to do for the Canadian ground forces in one volume what Professor Morison is doing for the United States Navy in thirteen.

Colonel Stacey disavows "any claim to finality" and calls his book "a Summary, not a History," reserving that term for three other volumes his office is preparing. But the summary reflects the author's scholarship, breadth of knowledge, and literary skill. The great stage of plans and events on which the Canadian forces were operating at any given time is sketched in with broad and accurate strokes. The spotlight is held on the action of these forces overseas, but the reader is kept aware of the play of national forces that affected their strength and efficiency. The purpose of the book requires certain details of interest only to the Canadian public. But the narrative of combat never becomes confused and is written with a mastery of essentials and a skill in the use of authentic illustrative detail that make it interesting to all who want to know what battle meant in World War II to those who fought. Writing combat narrative is a difficult art. Conscientiously practiced, it cannot produce breath-taking literature. But Colonel Stacey always writes clearly and, at certain points, inspired by his theme, he has written some of the finest pages of English prose that I have read in years.

Most of the chapters are straight campaign narrative, generally carried for-

ward at the division level. Eleven out of eighteen chapters are devoted to operations in the Mediterranean and in northwestern Europe, into which the full weight of the Canadian army, under Canadian command, was ultimately thrown. The Dieppe raid, on which full information is now available, is described in much more detail than any other action. Colonel Stacey develops to the limit the value the raid can be proved or fairly assumed to have had in shaping Allied preparations for the great assault on Normandy in June, 1944, evidently feeling that his public is entitled to the fullest possible justification for the cost of Dieppe in Canadian lives. This is one of the emphases required by the avowed purpose of his work.

The author is frankly, and justly, proud of the record that his volume presents. It reflects the pride of a nation as well as the modesty and skill of a conscientious historian.

Washington, D. C.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

CARTAS DEL LIBERTADOR. Tomo XI, 1802 a 1830. By *Vicente Lecuna*. [Mandadas publicar por el Banco de Venezuela.] (New York: Colonial Press. 1948. Pp. 444.)

THIS collection of letters published by the Bank of Venezuela supplements the ten volumes of the *Cartas del Libertador* edited by the distinguished Venezuelan scholar Vicente Lecuna which were published at Caracas in 1929-1930. During the years which have since elapsed many unedited letters of Simón Bolívar have come to light. Some two hundred of them were published at Caracas in numbers of the *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*. Letters that later came to Lecuna's hand, as well as others printed in the appendixes to volumes nine and ten of the *Cartas*, have also been included in the book under review. It has been conveniently designated volume eleven of the series. As in the case of the ten original volumes, so with regard to this volume, the editor has included some official letters of special interest which fill gaps in the private correspondence. Scattered through the book are pictures of colonial times in Venezuela and of scenes in Bolívar's life which were painted by the Venezuelan artist Tito Salas to adorn the Casa Natal of the Liberator of northern South America at Caracas.

The book contains three hundred letters, fragmentary or complete, which span the years from 1802 to 1830. The arrangement of the letters is strictly chronological. Many of them have been reproduced from the originals. Some have been published from copies. Others have been printed from books or newspapers or periodicals. A number have been obtained from private collections or public archives. In general the provenance of the materials has been explained in critical editorial notes accompanying the documents. An index which is not always arranged as a North American scholar would have constructed it, analyzes the materials that concern many events and personalities of the revolution against Spanish rule.

Certain of the letters are of special interest to students of history. Among them is Bolívar's letter of September 6, 1815, to a gentleman of Jamaica. Lecuna now prints a facsimile of the first lines of the earliest published version of that epistle. It bears the following headline: "*Contestación de un Americano meridional (es el jeneral Bolívar) á un caballero de esta Isla (Jamaica).*" The editor also prints the entire text of this version of the so-called "prophetic letter" in which Bolívar made a remarkable forecast of the future of the rising Spanish-American nations. This version was obtained from a rare printed collection of documents edited by Cristóbal de Mendoza and Francisco J. Yanes from 1826 to 1832. Lecuna ventures the opinion that the text of the oft-quoted letter may have been originally furnished by Pedro Briceño Méndez, who at that time was a resident of the Venezuelan capital.

Lecuna has included in a special section of the book significant material concerning the interview held at Guayaquil in July, 1822, by Bolívar and San Martín. In this material are documents concerning the right of possession to the province of Guayaquil. Other documents touch upon important matters which were discussed at that interview. These papers include unedited documents from the archives of Colombia and Ecuador as well as the important letter of Bolívar's secretary, J. G. Pérez, dated July 29, 1822, which was first published by J. M. Goenaga at Rome in 1915. The learned editor is of the opinion that these documents clearly demonstrate the right of Colombia to the possession of the province of Guayaquil and the falsity of the letter purporting to be written to Bolívar on August 29, 1822, and attributed by the French mariner Gabriel Lafond to General San Martín, a letter which set forth the view that Bolívar refused to furnish soldiers to aid San Martín in the impending campaign in Peru. This volume should serve to correct errors, to alter misconceptions, and to fill lacunae in narratives concerning the separation of Spanish South America from the motherland.

University of Illinois

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

TERAN AND TEXAS: A CHAPTER IN TEXAS-MEXICAN RELATIONS.

By *Ohland Morton*. With an Introduction by Eugene C. Barker. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association. 1948. Pp. [viii], 191.)

THE author presents discreetly the history of the Texas question in the years before the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico, basing his work not only upon a narration of the events but also upon the repercussion which they made on the mind of an intelligent and upright Mexican: General Manuel de Mier y Terán.

The volume begins with an account of the war for the independence of Mexico, because Mier y Terán played an active role in some parts of this struggle, and for the same reason a description of the political history of the early years of the Mexican republic is given. The study proper opens with chapter III which relates to the official visit Mier y Terán made to inspect the province of Texas, which be-

gan on November 10, 1827. Mr. Morton observes accurately that "the importance of the expedition to Texas . . . lies not in its connection, real or ostensible, with a boundary commission, but in its effect on Texas-Mexican relations for the next few years" (p. 80), since Mier y Terán became the chief counselor of the Mexican government on all matters relating to Texas from the time of the expedition until his death in 1832. The Spanish attempt to reconquer Mexico by landing troops in 1829 under General Barradas drew Mier y Terán away from the inspection visit for a time, but once this peril had passed he returned to Texan problems.

Chapter v contains the meat of this study, for it shows Mier y Terán's attitude concerning the danger which Mexico ran that she might lose her northern territories. The Mexican government attempted to remedy the situation by passing the law of April 6, 1830, which aimed to prevent future colonization by North Americans on Mexican soil. The execution of this law met with insuperable obstacles, however, as Mier y Terán himself recognized in March, 1831, when it was clear that Mexican colonists had not been attracted to Texas. The political struggles then going on in Mexico and the instability of the government made impossible a vigorous application of the law. As Mier y Terán asked Lucas Alamán in his letter of July 2, 1832, "How could we expect to hold Texas when we do not even agree among ourselves?" (p. 182).

Ill, morally exhausted by the problem of Texas and by the political situation in Mexico, Mier y Terán finally committed suicide. This action put an end to his personal desperation, but it did not resolve the problems which had agitated him. It is impressive, however, to see the parallel which existed between the personal drama that he lived, and the tempest which was to break out with devastating results for Mexico. The death of Mier y Terán was in large measure a consequence of the clarity with which he saw the frontier problem, at a time when he possessed none of the means necessary to resolving it. In his last letter there appears several times this question: "How will affairs in Texas end? As God wills" (p. 183).

Mr. Morton's work is based upon previous monographic studies and upon the abundant documentation which the educational institutions of Texas have been able to accumulate with an untiring tenacity. He writes simply and clearly and, moreover, with a historical understanding which permits him to set forth, with courtesy and comprehension, the Mexican viewpoint on the complicated Texas question.

El Colegio Nacional, México, D.F.

SILVIO ZAVALA

BRAZIL. Edited by *Lawrence F. Hill*, Professor of History in the Ohio State University. [The United Nations Series.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1947. Pp. xxi, 394. \$5.00.)

THE editor states that this volume is the "first attempt to cover the political, diplomatic, economic, social, and cultural phases of Brazilian history." This is essentially correct, although the essays in this collection are devoted largely to

political and diplomatic history. The chapters on "Social and Cultural Progress" and those on "Economic Development," some of them among the best in the book, are hardly historical in approach. Furthermore their insertion represents a definite break in the continuity of the treatment.

A survey of the titles of the five parts and eighteen chapters into which the work is divided gives an accurate impression of the scope and contents. Part One, "Background," consists of three chapters. The first two of these, "The Dependency, 1500-1808" and "The Transition, 1808-1840," are by Manoel Cardozo, and the third, "Dom Pedro Segundo, the Democratic Emperor" is by Alan K. Manchester. Part Two, "Political and Constitutional Government," is the best integrated portion of the volume. In the first three of its four chapters Lawrence F. Hill covers the period from the end of the empire in 1889 to 1897 under the title "Political Romanticism," the years 1898 to 1910 as "Reconstruction and Progress," and the era 1910 to 1930 as "'Caudilhismo' versus Republicanism." The other chapter, by Harvey Walker, "The Vargas Regime," is both more benign and more enlightening than most accounts of the Estado Novo which have appeared after the fall of Getulio.

Part Three, "Social and Cultural Progress," is a miscellany of six essays. Of them "Social Pioneering" by Arthur Ramos is outstanding. "Education" by M. B. Lourenço Filho also is well done, as is most of the lengthy chapter on "Science" by Francisco Verancio Filho. "Art" by the late Mario de Andrade is a tedious piece of cataloguing and does not measure up to the quality of most of his work. "Music" by Luiz Heitor Correa de Azevedo is informing, but "Literature" by Samuel Putnam hardly does justice to the subject. Three chapters, "Agriculture," "Industry, Commerce, and Finance," and "Wartime Economic Conditions," all by Frederic William Ganzert, constitute Part Four, "Economic Development."

The concluding section, Part Five, "Diplomatic Relations," consists of "Europe and the South American Neighbors" by Heitor Lyra and "The United States" by Lawrence F. Hill. The text of the Brazilian national anthem; "Brazil," a poem by Ronald de Carvalho; a selected bibliography; and an index complete the table of contents. Eighteen excellent photographs of important persons and national show places are used, and a small map is included.

The editor and the publishers are to be commended for bringing out a work of this nature, one in which North American professors and their Brazilian fellows participate jointly in an analysis of Portuguese America. It should be indicated that the Brazilian contributors include some of the finest scholars in South America.

In spite of the weaknesses inherent in any collection of this sort, the book is important and deserves to be widely used. In no other single place can one find as much that is sound about such a wide range of subjects. It should prove particularly useful as collateral reading for courses in history and political science; but it is also to be recommended to the general reader.

Not a few defects, errors, and inconsistencies mar the text, of which a few examples should be given. Primary among these is the inconsistency in terminology. Thus while Manchester carefully avoids the use of Brazilian terms such as *fazenda* and *fazendeiro*, relying instead upon the inadequate English expressions "plantation" and "planter," Hill is unable to keep these essential Brazilian words out of his topic sentences. Manchester also uses "town," "parish," and "municipality," none of them accurate, to designate the *município*, which more closely resembles the county than any other governmental unit in the United States. This reviewer can understand why it might be desirable to employ the Brazilian designation *Carioca* for the inhabitant of Rio de Janeiro, but he is unable to appreciate the corruption *Cariocan* (p. 83). The identification of the *sertão* of Bahia and Pernambuco as the cotton-producing section of the northeast (p. 52) is inaccurate, and the reader who has followed through the detailed account of the long reign of Dom Pedro Segundo without finding mention of the immigration of Germans should be surprised to learn that there were in Brazil more than half a million persons in "communities of German extraction" (*sic*) when the First World War began (p. 93).

Vanderbilt University

T. LYNN SMITH

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

HISTORY IN THE *ENCYCLOPÉDIE*. By Nelly Noémie Schargo. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 533.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. 251, \$3.00.) This volume, apparently a doctoral dissertation, surveys the treatment of historical subjects in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert. Its main interpretative thought is that, contrary to a nineteenth century opinion still sometimes held, the Encyclopedists and *philosophes* were historically minded. The author estimates that out of 66,660 articles in the *Encyclopédie* some 6,199 are historical, and she succeeds in giving a clear idea of the subject matter of these articles. The method is almost purely descriptive, and the tone is one of condensed paraphrase. The approach is matter of fact; the reader will not learn from this book that the *Encyclopédie* was a weapon of combat, that it abounds in double meanings, or that the *philosophes*, like all persons of agile mind, did not always mean what they said exactly as they said it. Voltaire, for example, is quoted, without commentary or explanation, to the effect that the study of history makes us hate mankind. Without a sense of irony it is difficult to write of the *philosophes* with animation. The author concludes that "what has been called the modern approach to history seems to be contained in this work of the eighteenth century." But the conception of the modern is for her somewhat monolithic. The tools of analysis are lacking in keenness. That the Encyclopedists generally explained events by the action of individuals rather than of groups is attributed to their interest in "man." Because they wrote on the history of economic matters they are presented as forerunners to the economic interpretation of history. Encyclopedist history is not contrasted, implicitly or explicitly, either with the history that preceded it or with the romantic, organicist, positivist, Marxist, or scientific history that came after it. Its specific quality therefore is not fully grasped, though obvious enough in some of the materials quoted, as in d'Alembert's remark that history, "uniting us with past centuries, presents us with the spectacle of their vices and virtues, their wisdom and their faults." Here is the voice of the Age of Enlightenment, a voice quite unheard in "modern" times. It is our weakness today that we cannot be sure of which actions were the wise and virtuous ones in the past. It is our strength to understand the past, simply as a process, far more profoundly than it was understood, in that sense, in the eighteenth century. But nothing of such reflections appears in the present book. It is today well agreed that the *philosophes* took history seriously, and this volume adds further evidence on that point. That they were neither ignorant of nor unconcerned with the Middle Ages is likewise convincingly shown. That they were critically aware of principles of method and rules of evidence is made clear. And their astonishing range of interest and freshness of attitude is once again apparent.

R. R. PALMER, *Princeton University*

THE USE OF HISTORY. By A. L. Rowse, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. [Teach Yourself History Library.] (New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. xi, 247, \$2.00.) This volume introduces a series of popular books, each centering upon a person and extending from the person to cover his period or his special achievement. Some three dozen of the books are already planned, nearly half of them concerned with English

history. The whole is a perfunctory little scheme, aimed, it would appear, to catch the interest and the money of a certain class of British reader; it meets no logical need or market in the United States. Thus this introductory volume, purporting to concern itself with history in general, concerns itself chiefly with history as the British have written it. It is, however, a poor performance even for that. The most serious part of the book, chapter v, entitled "Historical Thinking," contains an amateur critique of Marx and Marxism, a superficial remark about free will and determinism (pp. 130-31), some consideration of Dilthey in Hodges' version of him, and a discussion of Croce. British or not, the book does not mention A. J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*. Spengler, who appears in the index as "Spengler, Otto," is not accepted as truly a writer of *Kulturgeschichte*. "Apart from the fact that it [*The Decline of the West*] has greater pretensions—altogether bogus, by the way—to exhibit a morphology of culture, it is utterly tendentious and inspired by the gloomy genius of German *Schadenfreude*. Because the Germans were defeated, Western civilization is to be regarded as coming to an end: such is the simple motive behind that vast facade" (p. 79.). And such is the triviality of much doctrine offered in this book. The literary style is similar: for example, "The point I was making à propos of which this argument was developed was this . . ." (p. 130); the phrase "we don't want to . . ." (p. 105) to express obligation. A Fellow of All Souls who writes in this way is a surprise, perhaps a novelty of the age.

RUSHTON COULBORN, *Atlanta University*

VICTORY OVER PAIN: A HISTORY OF ANESTHESIA. By Victor Robinson, M.D. (New York, Henry Schuman, 1946, pp. xiv, 338, \$3.50.) The author has written rather completely with regard to anesthetics and methods of anesthesia in so far as they are important historically. He has introduced individuals who have participated in the development of this great effort to conquer pain. More than the usual details are told concerning the life of each of the persons who had an outstanding part in the development of modern anesthesia. Mesmerism is discussed and short bibliographies are included of the most important men who helped in the development of ether, nitrous oxide, and chloroform. The account of the reaction in Europe to the discovery of these anesthetic agents in America is interesting. The writer has included rectal anesthesia and has gone into detail concerning Simpson and his use of chloroform. The story is told of John Snow's contribution and the development of local anesthesia. The book contains some details on technique, and twilight sleep is described. The most recent contributions to the field of anesthesia have been indicated, such as intravenous anesthesia, continuous caudal analgesia, and endotracheal anesthesia and also mention is made of spinal anesthesia and anesthesia by refrigeration as well as by ethylene and cyclopropane. Curare and the advantages that are possible through its use are described briefly. A selected bibliography is included. This book is of unusual interest because it adds a human touch to a story that should be known and remembered but that is gradually being forgotten. The author has preserved much of the information that should serve to thrill anyone who desires to devote himself to anesthesia as a specialty which, although it has developed greatly in the past few years, still has a most promising future. Since anesthesia is the outstanding contribution from America to the practice of medicine, this book is recommended for wide general reading in order that as a people we may be informed as to the importance of this discovery which has filled one of man's greatest needs.

JOHN S. LUNDY, M.D., *Rochester, Minnesota*

FOR WANT OF A NAIL: THE INFLUENCE OF LOGISTICS ON WAR. By *Hawthorne Daniel*. Foreword by General Brehon Somervell. (New York, Whittlesey House, McGraw Hill, 1948, pp. xix, 296, \$3.75.) In stating his objective, Mr. Daniel says this volume is intended to be "no more than a kind of introduction to the subject" of the influence of logistics on war. By logistics, he, of course, means transport, quartering, supply, with all the rear area machinery that it takes to keep combat troops in victorious contact with the enemy. Toward this end, he has written the six essays that constitute the six chapters of this book. In rather light discussions in which he is often enthusiastic about the obvious, Mr. Daniel reviews two campaigns of the American Revolution, Wellington's Peninsular War, Napoleon's Russian campaign, a broad overview of the entire American Civil War, the supply problems of the Sudan campaign, and finally the logistical considerations inherent in the invasion of Europe, World War II. Inasmuch as he intended to write no more than an introduction to the subject, Mr. Daniel may be said to have achieved his mission. But Frederick the Great, wittingly or unwittingly, achieved almost as much when he said an army moves on its belly, though people have suggested that the Prussian had in mind the physical, snake-like appearance of the army, rather than the figurative connotation relative to supplies. There is neither documentation nor bibliography.

JIM DAN HILL, *State Teachers College, Superior, Wisconsin*

ROAD TO SURVIVAL. By *William Vogt*. With an Introduction by Bernard M. Baruch. (New York, William Sloane Associates, 1948, pp. 335, \$4.00.) William Vogt, a recognized authority on conservation and land usage, is chief of the conservation section of the Pan American Union. A far-ranging field worker in his present capacity, he is, in addition, an extremely able writer. Over most of the globe, as this book shows, we are face to face with a serious depletion of "resource capital." More than one country is already bankrupt. Such bankruptcy has wiped out civilizations in the past; there is no reason for hoping we can escape the same fate, unless we do something about it. This is not to suggest that a sound relationship with our environment is easy, or even a sure way out of multiplex difficulties; there is no simple solution. Nevertheless, ecological health is one of the indispensables. Comprehensive conservation may well become a world imperative. Anyone reading this book may share the author's conviction, deepening ever more as every genuine anxiety grows, of how extremely fortunate we are to be Americans. Mr. Vogt hopes that we may help this realization to grow, and with it there will also grow the recognition of the opportunity and responsibility we all have to be effective members not only of our own community but also of the world community. "We have not treated our country well; only its lush bountifulness has made possible the richness of our lives in the face of our abusive wastefulness. We still have much wealth left; as we prudently husband it to avert our own rainy day, we must, in human decency as well as self-protection, use our resources to help less well-endowed peoples." Some readers may find parts of this book critical. One can hope that, like Latin American friends who have been shocked by the author's reports on their countries, they will recognize that he is trying to paint an honest picture in colors that will convey an adequate image. "If a person is flushed with tuberculosis, no one will be benefited by pretending that it is the high color of robust health. Besides, criticism is implicit in progress; to advance we must re-value in order that we may create. Science, especially, rolls forward on the bearings of free criticism." Conservation, as applied to science, grows only through a continuous, critical correction of past errors elicited from action, research and education. This work is neither complete nor final; none can ever be. Critics will label it

neo-Malthusian and suspect it of supporting more government regulation. Presented with a magnificent force by a man who is both a keen-minded scientist and a brilliantly exciting writer, *Road to Survival* deals with the inescapable facts of earth and mankind and shows major world events in terms of simple, human absolutes.

WILLIAM V. BADGER, *Memphis State College*

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND MEN OF MODERN SPAIN, 1808-1946. By *A. Ramos Oliveira*. Translated by *Teener Hall*. (London, Victor Gollancz; New York, Crown, 1946, 1948, pp. 720, \$4.00.) This book is a serious, well-documented study of the Spanish civil war and the events leading up to it. The author, making use of scattered and forgotten facts, new or little known, presents for the first time a good political and economic panorama of modern Spain. In the part dealing with the period 1808-1930, the excess of names and numbers perhaps obscures the vision as a whole; but the section devoted to economic geography and the distribution of wealth in Spain—"the social basis of the nation as it was in 1931"—with its highly revealing figures and details, is very interesting. Although the book is fundamentally objective and written with moderation, the author's opinion is naturally reflected in it; but it would be interesting to see how another person of different opinions, using the same undeniable facts, could justify that Spanish oligarchy which Ramos Oliveira, calling it intransigent and feudal, points to as chiefly responsible for the catastrophe. Between that oligarchy and a passionate people who had suddenly shaken off their indolence, the Spanish Republic, indecisive and weak, had to fall. The main part of the book is devoted to studying the life of that Republic (1931-1936) and its death after the civil war (1936-1939), and constitutes an excellent and very honest work. Here not only are the facts precise but also the analysis of each situation and each person, and the atmosphere of each moment. The portrayal of President Azaña, for example, reveals extraordinary acuteness and comprehension in the author. And there are pages which acquire tragic grandeur, such as those devoted to the unconquered defenders of Madrid, who, betrayed, abandoned the trenches one day, filled with bitterness, and went to their homes sure that they would soon be sought there by the Falangist police. These men, the first to fight against Fascism, were even denied the right to die worthily, fighting. That sad episode of the surrender of Madrid is here made clear, as is, also, what was the task of the "non-interventionists" and in what intervention consisted. The defect of the work is perhaps that the author does not take into account the existence of a Spanish soul, which undoubtedly influenced the development of events. He does not understand what that soul was in the past, as we see in the introduction, which is full of controversial statements, and therefore he overlooks it in his study, thus causing some confusion and making certain events inexplicable. Referring, for example, to the history of the sixteenth century judged from an economic point of view, he says that the "anti-Renaissance" spirit of the Spaniards "suddenly cut short the revival of literature and religion," forgetting Santa Teresa, Cervantes, Lope, *et al.* And on dealing with the beginning of the civil war, he alludes to a "European" Spain facing a "medieval" one ("medieval" always has for him a depreciatory meaning). But in reality most of the traditionalists only wore medieval disguises; and many of their enemies, those who fought quixotically, had little of the "European"—and perhaps not a little of the medieval in the good sense of the word—and were frequently betrayed, as the author himself tells us, by the most "European" cities, classes, and persons in Spain. Mr. Ramos Oliveira explains the facts in part, only in part. But few who study modern Spanish history can overlook his solid and frequently very intelligent work.

A. SÁNCHEZ-BARBUDO, *University of Wisconsin*

I SAW POLAND BETRAYED: AN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR REPORTS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. By *Arthur Bliss Lane*, United States Ambassador to Poland, 1944-1947. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1948, pp. 344, \$3.50.) In July, 1944, Mr. Lane was recalled from Bogotá, Colombia, to assume the post of United States ambassador to the Polish Government in Exile (in London), at that time recognized by the three powers, the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, as the official government of Poland. But during 1944, it was superseded in Russian favor by the so-called Lublin Committee and at Yalta in 1945 and in July of that year, transformed by the addition of a few non-Communist members, it became the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity. It was to this organization that Mr. Lane was accredited in 1945 with the express purpose of overseeing the "free and unfettered elections" for a national Sejm. The government that was constituted after such election would then be accorded *de jure* recognition by the great powers. Though the elections were anything but "free and unfettered," the authority of the new government was not challenged. Mr. Lane resigned, as it were, in protest and returned to private life to tell how the original purpose, expressed at Yalta by President Roosevelt and at Potsdam by President Truman, was frustrated by the Soviet Union. His book thus constitutes a passionate indictment of Soviet policy. Though the facts are incontrovertible, Mr. Lane is not altogether successful in revealing with clarity the factors that led to this policy. The statement in his summary is about as close as he comes to it: "The Soviet Union knows full well the value of a foreign policy no matter how diabolical in method that is conceived carefully and executed with meticulous thoroughness. Vigorously and relentlessly, it has been carried on for years. No public opinion, no elected congress stand in the way of its fulfillment." He is somewhat less explicit on the special factors that have reduced United States policy in eastern Europe almost to impotence. They can, however, be read between the lines. First was the dire need that drove Churchill and Roosevelt, during the latter part of the war, to prevent Stalin from negotiating a separate peace with Hitler, by sweeping concessions that contravened the spirit and the letter of the Atlantic Charter. The second was no less fatal, the complete military dominance which her propinquity facilitated and which we made permanent by the precipitateness and completeness with which we demobilized at the conclusion of the war. The balance of power has thus shifted entirely in Russia's favor and until this balance is redressed, there seems to be no chance of undoing the Polish settlement by the traditional methods of diplomacy.

STUART R. TOMPKINS, *University of Oklahoma*

FROM VERSAILLES TO POTSDAM. By *Leonard von Muralt*. Translated from the German by *Heinrich Hauser*. [The Humanist Library.] (Hinsdale, Ill., Henry Regnery, 1948, pp. 93, \$2.00.) This brilliant essay by the professor of modern history at Zürich weighs the peace treaties and the international aftermath of World War I in the scales of "politics as the art of the possible," and finds them wanting. Professor Muralt contrasts them and the statesmen responsible for them with their counterparts of the Congress of Vienna and the prolonged equilibrium of the nineteenth century. The former appear to him to have been far more successful than the latter. In his concise but clear analysis of the crowded years since the end of World War I he displays a masterly grasp of events and a comparably impressive literary style which the translator, Heinrich Hauser, has reproduced. He believes the key to peaceful world politics to be the consistent application of the principle "that politics is action in the realm of power relations and power groups, none of which must be overlooked, because even if temporarily weakened or only latently extant it always can retain strength and can

reawaken to new effectiveness" (p. 89). He praises Metternich as having lived by his own prescription that "The establishing of international relations on the basis of reciprocity under the guarantee of respect for acquired rights . . . constitutes in our time the essence of politics, of which diplomacy is merely the daily application" (p. 91). At Vienna "every participant recognized the precepts of balance of power and of legitimacy" (p. 12). But, "The Paris Peace Conference was a tragedy of contradictions" (p. 22). Its principals lacked a "common language" of world politics and none of them reckoned with the inevitable recrudescence of Germany and Russia. Every page of this brochure is instructive, many of them provocative. Muralt may be called an evolutionary internationalist. He would not subject right to power; neither would he subject one national ideology to another. He is not opposed to world organization, but he insists that it must be founded in a proper assessment of power relationships. May his thoughtful and practical work find readers in the world's chancelleries!

HAROLD S. QUIGLEY, *University of Minnesota*

PEACE OR POWER. By *Harold Butler*. (London, Faber and Faber; New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. 269, \$4.50.) Sir Harold Butler, for years director of the International Labor Organization, shows attachment for the old League of Nations and summarizes cogently the mistakes of "The Peace that Failed." His thesis is Wilsonian: the world must choose between peace or power. He recognizes that the preponderance of great powers belies the thesis, but he assumes, as Franklin D. Roosevelt did, that peace and the authority of the United Nations depend upon whether the great powers work together with mutual confidence. The United States, England, and France are indicted for mistaken policy in the era of the League—particularly the alienation of Russia and the failure to accept Soviet overtures for a common front to head off World War II. Russian policy since the war is severely condemned. The author assays American development for the past century to demonstrate that democratic values and legitimate interests account for participation in World War II—contradicting the Beard thesis. He views the Truman Doctrine sympathetically, as merely extending earlier principles, and defends as a practical expedient the by-passing of the United Nations. The book traces chronologically the clash between East and West. It does not illumine the problem of effective international organization. The author hopes for a general settlement with Russia, and a long peace to allow for the growth of international enlightenment. However, he regards current ideological division as worse than old-style nationalism and dreads the possibility of "relapsing into a new age of power." The peril to civilization is sharply etched in the early pages tracing historical change from moderation and limited stakes in previous warfare to unlimited ambitions and risks of extermination in twentieth century warfare. In ascribing responsibility for past mistakes and the present impasse, the book consistently underplays nationalistic fervor and power ambitions among the democracies.

SAMUEL HUGH BROCKUNIER, *Wesleyan University*

ARTICLES

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- H. L. STEWART. Machiavelli and History. *Queen's Quar.*, LV, no. 3, 1948.
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- S. FURLANI. La crise de l'émigration hongroise après 1870. *Ibid.*, no. 2.
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DOCUMENTS

- HENRY C. TAYLOR. The Development of Agricultural Economics in Europe prior to 1925: Excerpts from Angelo Mauri's "I Nuovi Sviluppi Dell' Economia Agraria." *Agric. Hist.*, July.

Ancient History¹

T. Robert S. Broughton

THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR L. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS FROM THE EVIDENCE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS. By Gerard J. Murphy. (Jersey City, St. Peters College Press, 1945, pp. 113, \$1.60.) This University of Pennsylvania dissertation is an excellent demonstration of the importance of the use of documentary evidence to support, enrich, and correct the historical literature of ancient times, as well as modern historical studies which have failed to make adequate use of available documents. As might be expected, in view of the work already done in this period, Dr. Murphy has not found in the inscriptions of the reign of Septimius Severus material that would suggest any revolutionary change in the generally accepted interpretation of the career and policies of that emperor. He has, however, succeeded in making some very useful corrections and additions to the work done heretofore. In the matter of chronology, the author has shown good evidence for placing the embassy of the Senate to Severus in Germany (attested by CIL VIII, 7062) early in the year 197 A.D. rather than 196. He has also been able to add considerably to our knowledge of the generals of Severus in the civil wars and in their careers. Furthermore, he shows that the inscriptions prove that in the Parthian War Ctesiphon fell late in 197 or early in 198 rather than late in 198, as some recent writers believe. On the basis of the inscriptions of the year 207, Dr. Murphy infers a "revolt of serious proportions" against Severus which is not mentioned in the literary sources. This point deserves further investigation for the affair may have been a reaction to the murder of Plautianus in 205. From the records of the milestones published thus far, it appears that repairs to the imperial highway by Severus were not, for the most part, made in time of war or in anticipation of troop movements, but in times of peace as part of a general program of public works. The author points out that this conclusion seems to apply to other principates as well. The monograph contains five appendixes on special points, and a bibliography, but no index or table of the inscriptions cited or referred to in the text and notes.

A. E. R. BOAK, *University of Michigan*

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

EARLY CHRISTIAN EPITAPHS FROM ATHENS. By John S. Creaghan, S.J., and A. E. Raubitschek. (Woodstock, Md., Theological Studies, 1947, pp. 54, plates, \$2.50.) This scholarly monograph with excellent plates is reprinted from *Hesperia*, XVI. It is dedicated to Saint Agathocleia, mentioned in no. 5 of the thirty new texts. It shows her church to be one of the oldest in Athens. Pittakis (spelled Pittakes and Pittakys on p. 39) saved the ikon, and the feast day of the martyr is still celebrated near the site of the old church which succeeded the sanctuary of Eucleia and Eunomia. The inscription records the burial of the reader, Andreas. *Koimeterion*, the authors say, means a purely Christian, and not, as Bees believes, a pagan burial; but the pagans also thought of death as sleep, as Ogle and others have shown. The use of sigma for an abbreviation is earlier than the authors believe, and the church of the reader is not given because each church had its own reader and the context or place of finding of an inscription gives us the name of the church. (Cf. the mosaic inscription I found in one of the earliest cathedrals [ca. 374 A.D.], published in *T.A.P.A.*, LVII [1926], 234.) The other new texts are of no great historical importance nor are the twenty-three old texts republished with corrections. Though Athens never was a great Christian center, this source material is welcome in view of the lack of literary and other original documents. The monograph throws light on the history of the Eucharist and on the use of a symbol within a symbol. The three crosses represent the Trinity, and the connection between cross and vine helps interpret *John*, XV, 5. The publication of all Greek Christian inscriptions was planned in 1898 but little progress has been made. Father Marye of Fordham and others are working in this field and Bees has published two fascicles of such a Corpus (the authors evidently have seen only that of 1941). To those projects this monograph will be useful. It is unfortunate that these classicists have not paid more attention to specialists in Christian epigraphy, such as Callander, Cameron, Nock, and especially Calder. Classical Greek differs widely from that of the formulas, symbols, and curses, and Calder knows the difference between pagan and Christian formulas as well as any scholar. For example, for the early Christian monument from Tanagra cf. Calder, *Classical Review*, LXII (1948), 8-11 (400 A.D.). In no. XXIII, p. 37 the letter is rho, as the illustration shows, and not iota. The stonecutter made no mistake nor was there "a peculiar pronunciation." The book is well printed and free from misprints (my article cited p. 9 is in Vol. XLI, not XL, of the *Classical Journal*).

DAVID M. ROBINSON, *University of Mississippi*

GENERAL ARTICLES

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- A. GRENIER. Numen. *Latomus*, Oct.
- VIRGILIO PALADINI. Sul pensiero storiografico di Cicerone. *Ibid.*
- H. LAST. Sallust and Caesar in the *Bellum Catilinae*. *Mélanges Marouzeau* (Paris, 1948).
- N. A. MASHKIN. Rimskie politicheskie partii v kontse II i v nachale I v. do n.e. [Roman political parties in the late second and in the early first century B.C.]. *Vestnik drevnei ist.*, 1947, no. 3.
- J. BÉRENGER. À propos d'un *imperium infinitum*. *Mélanges Marouzeau*.
- MARIO ATTILIO LEVI. La composizione della "Res Gestae divi Augusti." *Riv. filol.*, July, 1947.
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INSCRIPTIONS AND PAPYRI

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 T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON. The *Elogia* of Julius Caesar's Father. *Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, Apr.
 WILLIAM C. McDERMOTT. C. I. L., IX, 3660-3663. *Mélanges Marouzeau*.
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 WILLIAM C. McDERMOTT. An Inscription from Messad. *Am. Jour. Philol.*, July.

Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE MEDIEVAL FOUNDATIONS OF ENGLAND. By G. O. Sayles, Professor of Modern History in the Queen's University of Belfast. (London, Methuen, 1948, pp. xi, 480, 18s.) In this volume the broad sweep of the history of England from the Anglo-Saxon invasions to the close of the reign of Henry III is treated and the story of Parliament is carried to the close of the fourteenth century. The treatment has two distinctive characteristics. Many of the facts which customarily find a place in a work of this scope are intentionally omitted. The method may be illustrated by the account of Alfred's warfare against the Danes. The significance of the several series of campaigns is explained, but no attempt is made to trace the course of the individual campaigns. The main aspects followed throughout the period are the constitutional, social, ecclesiastical, and cultural. The result is a continuous narrative of a type different from that found in the ordinary general survey. The second characteristic is the strong emphasis placed upon the results of recent research. Three chapters assess the nature of the original sources and the difficulties of their interpretation in the periods before 871, from 871 to 1066, and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They provide the introduction necessary for an understanding of the explanations of new conclusions which follow. With an occasional exception these explanations are adequate with clear distinction between the more modern deductions that are fully established and those that represent only a balance of probability. Professor Sayles does not always accept the more recent interpretations of the evidence. He, for example, expresses doubt of the hypothesis that Anglo-Saxon kings did not grant judicial immunities which created private jurisdictions (p. 209). In a few instances he presents views held by earlier scholars without indication that later students have expressed different opinions. His statement with regard to the functions of the elected knights of the shires who met the king's council in 1254 (p. 444) is a case in point. In such instances the reader is not always informed whether the author has made a deliberate decision against the new or has overlooked it. However that may be, the narrative brings out with brevity and clarity the synthetic significance of a host of important changes of view with regard to many phases of the subject. The book will be of value not only to the novice in historical scholarship but also to the seasoned student of historical research who desires a bird's-eye view of what modern scholars have added to our knowledge of this long period of English history: a period in which much of the evidence is difficult of interpretation.

W. E. LUNT, *Haverford College*

DAS ZWEIKAISERPROBLEM IM FRÜHEREN MITTELALTER: DIE BEDEUTUNG DES BYZANTINISCHEN REICHES FÜR DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER STAATSIDEE IN EUROPA. By *Werner Ohnsorge*. (Hildesheim, August Lax Verlag, 1947, pp. 141.) W. Ohnsorge's book under review is an important contribution to the history of the political, diplomatic, and ideological interrelations between Byzantium and the West from the year 800 A.D. to the year 1204. The subject of the book is the problem of the title of the "Roman" emperor, which has contained the idea of the universality of the Roman Empire, and which, before 800, belonged exclusively to the emperor on the Bosphorus. The problem of the two "Roman" empires was created by Charlemagne under the pressure of the papacy. The author shows how, toward the end of the eighth century, the papacy framed a secret revolutionary plan to have the Eastern Empire absorbed by the newly established Western Empire; and how, through the projected marriage of Charlemagne to the Byzantine empress Irene, the Eastern Empire was to be eliminated as an individual independent state and indissolubly connected with the West, where Charlemagne was to become emperor of the Universal Roman Empire. The author calls this plan the papal "Either-Or" (*Entweder-Oder*) policy, in the sense that the Roman emperor should be the only one—in this particular case, Charlemagne. But to the latter as to the king of the German Franks the idea of the universality of the empire was alien, so that Ohnsorge is inclined to accept Professor Franz Dölger's standpoint that Charlemagne was a "titulary" emperor only (p. 28). Here it would be very interesting to discuss J. B. Bury's almost unknown study "Charles the Great and Irene" (*Hermathena*, VIII [1893], 17-37), in which Bury suggested that the original idea of the coronation of 800 had come from Irene herself. Ohnsorge deals with the following stages of the problem: with the coronation of Otto I, 962, and with Frederick Barbarossa's attempt to establish the Roman Empire free of papal Rome. After 1204 the problem ceases to exist. At the end of the book, Ohnsorge points out once more that, from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, the foundation of Western imperialism was the parity of power with the Eastern emperor, but not world power or world conquest. For the whole imperial history of the earlier Middle Ages Byzantium was the leading political background, when Byzantine policy was the real world policy (p. 132). There are no references or footnotes in the text. At the end is added an ample bibliography, particularly important for the most recent German publications, which are almost entirely unknown in this country.

A. A. VASILIEV, *Harvard University, Dumbarton Oaks*

DE PROFECTIONE LUDOVICI VII IN ORIENTEM. By *Odo of Deuil*. Edited, with an English translation, by *Virginia Gingerick Berry*. [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, Number XLII.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. xlv, 154, \$3.25.) One who has, however incidentally, come upon Odo's lively account of Louis VII's unhappy venture into the East will welcome this text—and translation, the first into English. Of the text we cannot speak, based as it is on materials only in part available to us. For the translation we have only the highest praise. Many of Mrs. Berry's renderings are brilliant. Disposed though we were at times to differ with her, we ended in agreement. Slips, of course, are bound to occur, but they are hardly worth mentioning. For example: *prece* is translated both as "presence" and, in the plural, as "supplications" (p. 37); the *regiam* failed to register on page 49; so also the important *autem* and the *cum eo* on the next page and the *in partem alteram* on page 126. Two ecclesiastical expressions may be questioned: *dies in Pentecosten* probably should have been translated as "Pentecost" and *in Octavis* as "octave," because

June 15 in 1147 fell on a Sunday (p. 15); the bishop of Arras no doubt died in the confession of his holy faith rather than "in holy confession" (p. 45). We like the "I groan from the bottom of my heart" for *de visceribus intimis ingemisco* (p. 119). Misprints are rare. Something must have happened at the last moment to the words terminating four of the last six lines on page 72. Well planned, too, is Mrs. Berry's introduction, though the lay reader of crusading history doubtless would welcome some background that would help him to evaluate Odo's strictures about the Germans and even the Greeks, a background, say of the kind Kugler provides in his *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (pp. 128-51). The rabble that zealously enough accompanied both the German and French knights could be depended on to alienate possible allies, supposing for a moment that the Byzantine East ever was honestly well disposed toward the West. Of lesser importance are tendencies to repeat (e.g., p. xiv n.8 and p. xvi n.18; bibliographical data pp. xiv n.6, xxi n.52 and pp. 145-47) and to write didactically (e.g., p. xliv). In the bibliography a later edition of Helmold than Lappenberg's in the MGH. SS. (1869) might have been cited. Schmeidler published revised texts in the MGH. SS. *rerum Germanicarum* in 1909 and again in 1937. Some very interesting references might have been developed in the footnotes; for example, the prices the Greeks charged the French crusaders in their plight, such as ten *solidi* for a hen, five or six *denarii* for a single egg, seven or eight *denarii* for an onion or a bulb of garlic, all of which might have been reduced to readily imaginable present-day equivalents (pp. 133-34). Worth some remarks, too, is Odo's statement that he had heard more than three thousand young Frenchmen went with the Turks who befriended them at Adalia (pp. 140-41).

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, *Pennsylvania State College*

THE INQUISITION AT ALBI, 1299-1300: TEXT OF REGISTER AND ANALYSIS.

By *Georgene Webber Davis*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 538.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. 322, \$4.00.) One of the most famous incidents in the history of the Inquisition in Languedoc was the sudden arrest and trial of thirty-five substantial citizens who were arrested late in 1299 and tried with unusual speed in a few months from December 2, 1299, to March 30, 1300. The fact that they were mostly men of property and position in the community—six were notaries and advocates—has given rise to considerable conjecture on the part of historians of the Inquisition as to possible motives which may have precipitated this action. While some authorities are content to accept the records of the Inquisition at their face value, the majority have thought that the wealth of the men involved probably influenced the inquisitors, and that the confessions must have been obtained only by means of torture and excessive "persuasion." Miss Davis, who became interested in the problem in the seminar of Professor Austin P. Evans, has prepared a careful and critical text of the single document which contains the confessions (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 11847), and has arrived at the conclusion that the accused were properly under suspicion but that their property probably tended to make the inquisitors more zealous in their search for evidence than they might have been with lesser and poorer culprits. While they were all convicted, it is important to note that they were uniformly guilty of only lesser offenses, such as "adoring" (kneeling before and accepting blessing from) perfected heretics, receiving them into their homes, or being present at deathbed heretications, offenses which were undoubtedly prevalent throughout the affected areas and which were not invariably prosecuted. The edition of the text has been done with meticulous care. An introduction presents the problem, discusses the events leading up to and away from the trials, and gives the con-

clusions of the author. Appendixes give brief biographies of the individuals involved, a detailed calendar of the trials, the presiding and assisting officials and the exact dates of their functioning, and an excellent list of all place names mentioned with identifications. A map accompanies the text. The index has been most carefully prepared and includes variant spellings of all uncertain names. This volume is an important addition to the group of sources for the history of Languedoc which have been prepared by the students of Professor Evans. It seems somewhat unfortunate that the text could not be accompanied by a translation, which would have enabled students unfamiliar with Latin to acquaint themselves with this very representative example of inquisitorial procedure.

JOHN L. LAMONTE, *University of Pennsylvania*

COMPTEs DU TONLIEU D'ANVERS, 1365-1404. By *Renée Doehaerd*. (Brussels, Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1947, pp. 318.) The extensive control, which the indefatigable industry of generations of medievalists has established over the primary sources of medieval history, never fails to impress the historian whose interests compel him to struggle with the unorganized mass of records left by later periods of history. The Commission Royale d'Histoire has now extended this control over yet another group of documents through publication of the records of the *nive tol du borchwerk*, a toll levied at Antwerp between 1365 and 1404 on merchandise owned by merchants from the surrounding towns of Malines, Vilvorde, Lierre, Aarschot, Herentals, Heist, Putte, Walem, Turnhout, and Berlaar. In an interesting and scholarly introduction, the editor, Mr. Doehaerd, relates the history of the toll as a fiscal institution, describes the manner in which it was administered, and points out some of the conclusions that may be drawn from the records concerning the economic life of the area. One printing error has been noted: on p. 46 "Guillaume II" should be "Guillaume III." This volume will undoubtedly be welcomed by all those interested in the history of medieval commerce.

B. H. WABEKE, *Washington, D.C.*

GENERAL, POLITICAL, AND INSTITUTIONAL

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- C. R. CHENEY. Master Philip the Notary and the Fortieth of 1199. *Ibid.*
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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN CAROLINE ENGLAND. By David Mathew. [The Ford Lectures, delivered in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1945.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1948, pp. 140.) Here is a thought-provoking review of some aspects of Caroline social structure, but one that is disappointing in its failure to examine, or even to be aware of, all classes in society. The work is badly out of proportion in its overemphasis upon the nobility, gentry, and the officeholders at Westminster. One chapter out of eight deals with "The Middle Class and Casual Labour," a grouping which in itself suggests neglect of nonaristocratic elements in Caroline society. Certainly the commercial and financial interests, which wielded so much influence in the Long Parliament and which contributed so much to the eclipse of the monarchy, merit more serious consideration than Dr. Mathew gives them. There is almost no reference to the artisan, and only that section of the laboring class receives attention which the author calls "casual labour," which apparently for him consists chiefly of domestics serving the aristocracy. One never knows what Dr. Mathew means when he refers to "London." More often than not he obviously means Westminster and Whitehall. London in the early seventeenth century meant something very specific: it meant the City. The Strand, Westminster, Rotherhithe, Stepney, Islington, the Tower Hamlets, and the other suburbs, while part of the metropolitan area today, were not part of London as the term was used in the time of Charles I. This confusion of which the author is guilty leads him to ignore the real London—

the port in which six times as much was paid in customs as in all the rest of England, the city of financial magnates which contributed over ten thousand pounds weekly to the parliamentary cause during the Civil War. There is occasional reference to one of the minor livery companies of London, but of the twelve great companies, which dominated City politics and City finance, there is not a word. In a chapter on "The Influence of Foreign Policy" on social structure, there is much on cliques among courtiers and officeholders, but nothing of the effect of foreign relations upon the trading interests which were immediately and substantially affected. For the upper classes with which the author is chiefly concerned, the study is stimulating. Many problems still wanting investigation are pointed up. A chapter surveying the material deals with the more important published sources, but again attention centers almost wholly on officials, gentry, and nobility. To many readers the most challenging aspects of the volume will be the gaps it leaves and the need it makes obvious to re-examine Caroline society in all its aspects.

MELVIN C. WREN, *Montana State University*

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF THOMAS TURNER OF EAST HOATHLY: A PICTURE OF THE DAILY LIFE IN A SMALL VILLAGE IN SUSSEX, ENGLAND, DRAWN FROM THE DIARY OF A TRADESMAN FOR THE YEARS 1754-1765. By *Dean K. Worcester, Jr.* [Undergraduate Prize Essays, Yale University, Volume VI.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948, pp. xi, 73, \$2.00.) Students of eighteenth century rural life have drawn heavily on some extracts from Turner's diary which were published in 1859 and republished (with an introduction by J. B. Priestley) in 1925. Mr. Worcester has had access to the complete original text, with its daily record of the life of a Sussex general storekeeper, broker of wool and hops, part-time schoolmaster, and minor parish official. Instead of editing and printing more extracts, he has given us, in just over sixty pages, a thumbnail sketch of the village and its inhabitants; of the round of work, play, and drinking; of the problems of parish vestry politics, especially those concerned with the poor and unemployed, who comprised ten per cent of the population; and of Turner's part in the economy and the polity. For an undergraduate essay—even one written by the post-war G.I. undergraduate who can make comparisons between Sussex and Algeria or Italy—it is a very good job. In fact it is so good that its author should be induced or compelled to prepare the diary for publication. Such a volume or volumes would be invaluable raw material, not merely to all sorts of historians (including novelists) but also to students of English literature and to psychologists or psychiatrists.

HERBERT HEATON, *University of Minnesota*

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BAGDAD RAILWAY, 1888-1914. By *Maybelle Kennedy Chapman.* [Smith College Studies in History, Volume XXXI.] (Northampton, the College, 1948, pp. x, 248, \$3.00.) That the Bagdad Railway continues to be a subject of interest to scholars is indicated by the appearance of this volume. Its purpose is to trace British policy toward the Railway, particularly its Anglo-German and Anglo-Turkish aspects, in terms of British interests in the Near and Middle East and the general European background. As the author states, there were three fairly well-defined periods in the evolution of this policy. The first extended from 1888 to 1903, during which time the British government offered little opposition to German railway activity in Asiatic Turkey and even welcomed it in order to counteract French and Russian ambitions in the Near East. By the turn of the century, however, anti-German sentiment was growing in England, and this was largely responsible for the re-

jection of a German offer of a settlement in the spring of 1903. The second period from 1903 to 1911 was characterized by Britain's efforts to prevent the building of the Railway and to act in collaboration with her Entente partners, France and Russia. After Russia withdrew her objections to the Railway in 1911, the British government realized the necessity of coming to terms and concluded agreements with Turkey in 1913 and with Germany in June, 1914. Dr. Chapman makes it clear that the Railway question as such was of relatively minor importance to the British Foreign Office and aroused little interest on the part of the British people. In only one instance, in connection with the 1903 negotiations, did public opinion exert any influence. It was neither a major problem of diplomacy nor an important cause of the First World War. While the main outlines of British policy concerning the Bagdad Railway are already familiar from studies by Earle, Wolf, and others, based largely on German sources, Dr. Chapman has brought forth new information from the *British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, the publication of which was not completed until 1938. These documents have enabled her to fill in certain gaps in the earlier accounts and to clarify some of the problems connected with Anglo-German and Anglo-Turkish relations. Unfortunately, they do not add much to our knowledge of such a highly significant episode as the 1903 negotiations. The volume, however, achieves its purpose, is well written, fully documented, and has two excellent maps and a carefully prepared bibliography. It is an important addition to the literature on the Bagdad Railway and the Near East.

CHARLES W. HALLBERG, *Queens College*

L'ANGLETERRE IL Y A 50 ANS: LE JUBILÉ DE DIAMANT DE LA REINE VICTORIA: ESSAI D'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE ET LITTÉRAIRE. By *Vladimir Halpérin*. [Collection Lebègue, 8me série, no. 88.] (Brussels, Office de Publicité, 1948, pp. 79.) M. Halpérin has prepared a concise and balanced account of England in the year of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. In the preface and the conclusion he points to the contrast between the prosperous exuberance of the jubilee and present "austerity," and states that his study is significant because 1897 was the apogee of English history. Moreover, he feels that this year in England and the British Empire belongs to universal history; to describe it is to explain the beginning of a new era. These views are important, for historians are far from agreed on the appropriate periodization of recent British history. Though much might be said for them, M. Halpérin illustrates his general views without developing them directly. He depicts the pageantry of the jubilee, the government of Lord Salisbury, the state of internal, imperial, and foreign affairs, and trends in literature and art. These are sketched with economy of line and accuracy of significant detail. The essay is, indeed, a little work of art, but whether its theoretical purpose is sufficiently established by the deftness of its picture of the jubilee year is questionable.

EGERTON RYERSON: HIS LIFE AND LETTERS. By *C. B. Sissons*. Volume II. (Toronto, Clarke, Irwin, 1947, pp. x, 678.) The first volume of this substantial biography (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV [1939], 972) traced the career of this remarkable Canadian Methodist in Upper Canada (now Ontario) from 1825, when Ryerson gave up teaching school to become a circuit rider, to 1841, when he became the first principal of Victoria College. This second and concluding volume carries the story on from his brief headship of Victoria to his much longer administration of the Ontario school system, which still bears the unmistakable Ryerson imprint. The superintendency did not carry cabinet rank and this, Ryerson felt, gave him the

right and imposed the duty of appealing when necessary directly to the people, even against the government of the day, to secure necessary legislation and financial support. In elementary education he opposed the extension of tax-supported separate schools, while he fought with equal energy but less success to secure state aid for denominational colleges. Ryerson's work regularly took him to the far corners of the province and brought him into frequent touch, and not infrequent conflict, with many leaders in both church and state. Scholars will be grateful for the new material here made available on both the leaders and Ryerson. Ryerson saw life in bold colors, and the author makes no attempt to soften them either in the selection of documents or in explanatory comment. There is little on Ryerson's domestic life. His wives are mentioned but left colorless; his son appears in only two or three places in the text and not at all in the index. Slips are few and inconsequential. There is no bibliography. The work is the result of almost a quarter of a century of patient and scholarly research not only in the Ryerson papers at Victoria University but in other repositories. Both publishers and author are to be commended for a job well done.

W. MENZIES WHITELAW, *American International College*

SIMPSON'S 1828 JOURNEY TO THE COLUMBIA: PART OF DISPATCH FROM GEORGE SIMPSON ESQ., GOVERNOR OF RUPERTS LAND, TO THE GOVERNOR & COMMITTEE OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, LONDON, MARCH 1, 1829, CONTINUED AND COMPLETED MARCH 24 AND JUNE 5, 1829. Edited by *E. E. Rich*, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. With an Introduction by W. Stewart Wallace, Library of the University of Toronto. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series, X.] (Toronto, the Society, 1947, pp. lii, 277.) The title of this volume is copied from the original manuscript and it may be misleading; for the whole, not just part, of Simpson's first dispatch of 1829 is here published. It is his report on his second transcontinental journey, giving an account of the company's affairs at the various establishments that he visited and the steps that were taken or contemplated for the improvement of the business. He deals at greatest length with the problems of the Columbia Department, especially American competition, which he planned to eliminate, and the possibility of a prosperous timber trade, which he hoped to develop. He was also much concerned over communications. His hazardous descent of the Fraser and Thompson rivers convinced him that they were an impossible substitute for the Columbia River as a highway from the coast into the interior, and therefore he stiffened the British desire to preserve the use of the Columbia in negotiations with the United States over the division of the Oregon country. He mentions the American trade with China, but not the British. That was managed from London, was not very promising, and was obliged to follow the example of the North West Company in using an American intermediary to get around the East India Company's monopoly. This appears in a group of documents that the editor has supplied in an appendix. There too, likewise culled from the company's archives, are important supplementary documents bearing on the American boundary and illustrating the operations of the company in the Far West. Mr. Rich is to be congratulated for his copious and meticulous editing, and Mr. Wallace for his full and fine introduction; but some readers will wish that the volume included a map.

A. L. BURT, *University of Minnesota*

HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN ONTARIO, 1613-1880. By *Robert Leslie Jones*, Professor of History, Marietta College. With a Foreword by Fred Landon, University of Western Ontario. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1946, pp. xvi, 420, \$4.25.)

Although agriculture occupies a preponderant place in the Canadian economy, it is only of late years that it has been provided with formal academic studies. Among these, which have lately been appearing with increasing frequency, Professor Jones's book will at once take a secure place. It is the product of much laborious research, its findings are authoritative, and the manner of presentation good. The only general note of criticism which suggests itself turns on the matter of scope: should a study in a limited field, the agricultural history of one small region in a vast continent, be left arbitrarily at a given year? Would not much have been gained by bringing the subject down to the present? Since 1880, the agriculture of Ontario has been signally affected by the opening of the west and by the settlement of the north. "Ontario" is no longer the small, interlake peninsula but a vast region stretching north to salt water and west beyond the Great Lakes. As such its significance in the continent is greater than it was in 1880. At the other end of the scale, it is rather misleading to give the opening date of the study as 1613, for before 1783 all the agriculture there was in what is now Ontario could be put into a very small space. In detail Professor Jones's study corroborates, documents, and interprets a frequent generalization of the agricultural historians to the effect that wheat-growing has run through much the same cycle wherever wheat has been the leading pioneer crop. As a cash crop, which could be sown between the stumps, it formed for the frontiersman the veritable "staff of life," but was displaced by other crops and livestock when suitable markets to the rear sprang up. In Ontario, the strict economic sequence was to some degree interrupted by the political situation arising out of the colonial relationship to Great Britain. The book does not depend heavily on manuscript sources but relies chiefly on printed material. It is remarkable what a wealth of information is to be found on this basis. Professor Jones's details about agricultural societies, fall fairs, and similar local matters constitute a formidable total. They are all useful in themselves but they pile up and give a certain impression of "small-change." Perhaps this is inevitable in subject matter that from its intrinsic nature can only be a variation on a much greater theme—the history of agriculture in North America as a whole. Professor Jones has laid an honest and solid brick on the row: it is to be hoped that he will go on and add to it.

A. R. M. LOWER, *Queens University, Kingston, Ontario*

THE CHRONICLE OF JEREMIAH GOLDSWAIN, ALBANY SETTLER OF 1820.

Edited by *Una Long*, Field-Worker in Historical Research, Rhodes University College, Grahamstown. Volume I, 1819–1836. (Cape Town, Van Riebeck Society, 1946, pp. xxi, 188, 12s. to members of the Society.) In 1819, because of the Industrial Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, economic distress was rampant in England; and when Parliament voted £50,000 to encourage settlement on the frontier of the Cape Colony, newly acquired from the Dutch, some 90,000 would-be emigrants made inquiry of the Colonial Office. Of these, about four thousand men, women, and children became the settlers of 1820, who were established on the Great Fish River; and played in South Africa a part somewhat comparable to that of the United Empire Loyalists in Canada. Among the settlers was the author of this Chronicle, written apparently in 1858—a youth of seventeen when he left his home at Great Marlowe, Buckinghamshire, a village on the Thames near Henley. "Nothing purtier ocured" he tells us in his peculiar spelling, until, with two dozen others, he signed at the "Grayhown Inn" an agreement which made him for six years an indentured servant of a London merchant, William Wait. There was strong opposition from the young man's parents, friends, and neighbors who "all be gun to weep" and declare he would be eaten by wild beasts; but Goldswain sailed from Deptford in December, 1819, and landed late

the following April at Simon's Bay. From here another ship carried Wait's party to Algoa Bay, whence they traveled by wagon to Bushman's river, where they started building and planting for Wait. Not long after, the servants quarreled with their taskmaster; and, after much traveling in search of a magistrate, they were discharged from their indentures. Goldswain found various employment as sawyer and wagon driver, with an unhappy venture in cattle trade. He was married in 1822, but it was not until 1835 that he was able to settle his family on a farm at Bathurst, still constantly menaced by Kaffir raids; and at this point the first part of his story ends. The Chronicle, of which one half only is included in the volume under review, runs to 528 foolscap pages in manuscript, and covers, rather unevenly, the author's adventures from 1819 to 1858. Apart from the fantastic spelling (a heroic and unabashed effort to render phonetically the Buckinghamshire dialect of the author's youth) the narrative makes good reading. Written vigorously, in plain language, it tells the unvarnished tale of an unheroic but typically hardheaded young English colonist, who took hardships, dangers and setbacks as they came, and always seemed to land on his feet. Goldswain, incidentally, had early joined a Wesleyan society which was active on the Cape frontier; and he testifies to the "strenth and incrugment" he and others gained from their religious faith. The Chronicle is, as the author states, a record of fact and the raw material of history. Perhaps it is of more local than general interest. But it clearly called for publication; and the exhaustive editorial work of Una Long (Mrs. Colin Gill) has been done in a way which reflects credit on her scholarship and on the discrimination of her publishers.

R. I. LOVELL, *Willamette University*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

UNE SOCIÉTÉ PROVINCIALE EN LUTTE CONTRE LE RÉGIME FÉODAL:
L'ALLEU EN BORDELAIS ET EN BAZADAIS DU XI^e AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE.
By Robert Boutruche, Agrégé de l'Université, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des
Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Uni-
versité de Strasbourg, Fascicule 100.] (Rodez, P. Carrère, 1947, pp. 275.) The essence
of this work is truly indicated by the subtitle, rather than by the example of headline
writing that precedes it. The trick is only too familiar in American journalism, but is
not one usually associated with French scholarship. M. Boutruche, it seems to me,
has really described no conflict between a provincial society and the feudal system;

he has merely studied a variety of documents relating to allodial tenure in a portion of southwestern France. On the whole, the author is to be complimented for having produced a good piece of research on a restricted phase of provincial history. He has examined all the relevant material in the local archives and presents a well-documented essay of 153 pages, supplemented by nearly a hundred pages of *Pièces justificatives* and a useful index. Besides, he gives us three excellent maps to illustrate his thesis. The maps I find somewhat more interesting than the thesis. That in southern France a good many allods continued to be held throughout the Middle Ages either by *seigneurs* or lesser men can hardly be thought surprising, whatever the royal policy in this connection. But what about the persistence of allodial tenure in regions other than the valleys of the Garonne and Dordogne? And what about an alleged revival of it in the twelfth and following centuries? Was the allod of the *ville neuve* or of the great commercial town the same as the allod of the Carolingian Empire? M. Boutruche, in his third map, graphically shows the expansion of medieval Bordeaux, with shaded areas to designate *quartiers et rues renfermant un grand nombre d'alleux*. How such expansion had been anticipated in Flanders and elsewhere seems not to interest him. This is my chief objection to the work in hand. When it comes to a question of origin, of basic character, or of significant relationship, M. Boutruche has almost nothing to say. More than sweeping gestures are needed to justify the title he has placed on his book—or its conclusion: "*Trait d'union entre la propriété romaine et la nôtre, l'alleu évoque en outre le souvenir du plus grand bienfait qui ait été dispensé aux hommes: liberté.*"

CARL STEPHENSON, *Cornell University*

CAMILLE DESMOULINS: GRANDEUR ET MISÈRE D'UNE AME ARDENTE.

By *Pierre Labracherie*. (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 252, 180 fr.) No one would call Camille Desmoulins a great man; he is not even one of the truly great among leaders of the French Revolution. His biographer presents him such as he was, a briefless lawyer, an orator who could not speak in public. Still, on July 12, 1789, this man aroused to action in the Palais Royal a fairly large crowd of Parisians which was not by any means the rough kind that is supposed to mob a regime. To his hearers he gave the choice of a cockade, green, the color of hope, or blue, the color of America and democracy. Green was chosen. Thus did the French Revolution begin. Camille Desmoulins was a journalist and a pamphleteer. Friend of Danton, he perished with him, in one of the purges of the period. As a writer, Desmoulins was virulent, and somewhat tiresome with his constant references to Greco-Roman history but such was the custom of the times. He loved the good things of life and had nothing of Robespierre's austerity, then, as always, most uncommon. His biographer shows him to us such as he was, thus reminding us that even in days of world crises, the men who lead are of ordinary size, not very different from the common standard of courage, industry, and morality. Mr. Labracherie knows his material through and through, but hides his scholarship instead of showing it indiscreetly.

J. A. MAYNARD, *École Libre des Hautes Études*

PAULINE BONAPARTE, 1780-1825. By *Bernard Nabonne*. (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp.

252, 225 fr.) Absence of a true sense of values marks the historical scholar who wastes his abilities on a biography of such an inconsequential person as Pauline Bonaparte, even though the resultant volume is a sober, factual account supported by careful historical criticism and devoid of lasciviousness, Bonapartist enthusiasm, and psychological speculation. The best feature of the volume is the correlation of Pauline's career with the policy and fortunes of Napoleon. The author endeavors, not without success, on

the basis of the known facts, to discover a rational view of the strange career of his fascinating but erratic subject. He emphasizes the difficulty of determining to what extent her follies produced the diseases from which she suffered and to what extent her diseases were responsible for her psychotic behavior. The effects of the climate and horrors of Santo Domingo were certainly serious. The scandalous part of Pauline's career fell almost entirely in the eleven years between her return from Santo Domingo, in her twenty-third year, and the first abdication of Napoleon. Nabonne mentions, but does not stress, the trivial amount of Pauline's mental and moral training, the abnormal social and moral conditions prevailing at the time, and her youth when she was plunged into the turbulent stream of life—she was not yet seventeen when she married Leclerc. In her last eleven years, the years of adversity, Pauline did reveal better qualities and considerable wisdom and strength of character.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER, *Wesleyan University*

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke

HISTOIRE DIPLOMATIQUE DE L'INDEPENDANCE BELGE (1830-1839). By *Fl. de Lannoy*, Professeur à la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Institut Saint-Louis, Bruxelles. [Collection Nationale, 8me série, no. 87.] (Brussels, Office de Publicité, 1948, pp. 75, 35 fr.) Intended for popular consumption, this slender volume combines scholarship and readability in a happy fashion. As the title implies, its chief focus is on the international diplomatic negotiations that led to the establishment of an independent Belgian state in 1839. The author has stuck closely to his subject, so much so that he occasionally limits our full understanding of the issues. The part played by King William I and the Netherlands people was hardly so passive that it should not have come in for a little analysis.

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O. J. Falnes

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

THE REPUBLIC OF AUSTRIA, 1918-1934: A STUDY IN THE FAILURE OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. By *Mary MacDonald*. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. viii, 165, \$2.50.) In quest of genuine understanding of the causes of the downfall of democracy in Austria, Miss MacDonald has gone to prime sources and the most direct authorities for her meaty little account of Austria's experiment in untried ways. As no one before her, she has examined in minute detail, and with objectivity and restraint, the processes which took place in the hour of imperial Austria's dissolution, then traced the specific steps by which the new institutional structure emerged. In so doing, she has gathered from recondite sources much that is convincing as to the fundamental nature of Austrian federalism. In particular, her careful combing of the stenographic records of national, interprovincial, and provincial deliberations on the constitution yields many rewarding items and sometimes real nuggets. But the painstaking work does not end there. Miss MacDonald puts the working of the Austrian constitution in an understanding and intelligible social context, both domestic and international. To change the metaphor, she completes with meticulous detail the hard, irreversible mosaic of Austrian constitutionalism for which, to 1934, Christian Socialism furnished the matrix and the variform paramilitary organizations the external, tamping force. In the process the human figures never lose their color, identity, or personality. The net result is a volume sound in its interpretation of historical forces, clear in its careful delineation of the structure of provincial and national opinion, and valuable for its precise juridical analysis. It is, all in all, a first-rate piece of synopsis and objective synthesis. Almost one third of the volume (pp. 107-55) is taken up by a fresh and lucid translation, out of juristic German, of a constitution whose grammatical intricacies have baffled many a previous scholar. For this splendid service, which must have been uninspiring and tedious in the extreme, the world of post-war scholarship stands deeply in debt to the author.

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BEMÜHUNG UM OESTERREICH: DAS SCHEITERN DES ZOLLUNIONSPANS VON 1931. By *Julius Curtius*. (Heidelberg, Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1947, pp. 106, License U.S.W. 1007.) Julius Curtius, Stresemann's successor in 1929 as foreign minister, attempts to correct what he considers fallacious assumptions regarding the

Austro-German customs union project of 1931. Since Curtius' original manuscript, written shortly after his resignation in 1931, was lost when Russia occupied eastern Germany, the present work represents a recapitulation based on memory and on such papers as he was able to consult. Curtius reaffirms that the purpose of the tariff union was purely economic. As a major thesis, he states that such unions between states unequal in size have tended to preserve, rather than to endanger, the independence of the smaller state. Through such a union the latter gained access to wider markets and the resultant economic prosperity made unnecessary a closer political union. Curtius cites numerous precedents, such as the tariff union between imperial Germany and Luxemburg, to demonstrate his case. He labels as completely unfounded the charge (again lately repeated by Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Habsburg to Hitler*, and by André François-Poncet, *Souvenirs d'une Ambassade à Berlin*) that Chancellor Brüning and he had taken up the customs union plan largely in order to show some diplomatic success to counter the growing strength of National Socialism. Although Curtius concedes that the attempted tariff union constituted a "risk," he states that all German representatives to the major capitals of Europe had assured him that, after an initial storm of protests, all countries ultimately would accommodate themselves to the economic necessities of the situation. Curtius believes that he and Schober, Austrian foreign minister, thought more in a European sense than those who finally vetoed the union—Beneš and Briand. The latter might well have tolerated the union; they could have rendered it harmless from their point of view by expanding it into a broader European union. Many of the subsequent tensions and crises might thereby have been forestalled.

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Gaudens Megaro

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LE "AFFITTANZE COLLETTIVE" E LE TRASFORMAZIONI FONDIARIE NEL MEZZOGIORNO D'ITALIA. By *Domenico Demarco*. (Naples, 1948, pp. 40, L. 350.) This lucid pamphlet analyzes and places in proper historical perspective the problem of agricultural co-operatives in southern Italy and discusses the difficulties pertaining to their extension, which the author favors. There is a good bibliography.

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

AMERICA IN PERSPECTIVE: THE UNITED STATES THROUGH FOREIGN EYES. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by *Henry Steele Commager*. (New York, Random House, 1947, pp. xxiv, 389, \$4.00.) This anthology of conclusions, rather than merely observations, makes both good bedside and collateral reading. There is no eccentricity in the selection and editing of these thirty-five foreign commentators. When Professor Commager does intrude, it is with a stimulating introduction because the subject matter is bound always to raise many questions of high importance. Someone once argued that before One World could be achieved, there had to be resolved the *two* "United States"—that which we are and that which the rest of the world takes us to be. The title does affirm that these writers have perspective. The editor does not claim to justify the selections upon a scale of influence they may have exercised abroad, though certainly some of the writers like Bryce, de Tocqueville, Dickens, and Brogan are known to have exercised considerable influence upon foreign readers. Commager does find a real unity emerging from the variety, that "America meant much the same thing"—equality, experimentation, materialism, exalted morals, chivalry, hope; he concludes, "the most profound interpreters of America returned a verdict that ranged from sympathy to enthusiasm."

RICHARD H. HEINDEL, *Washington, D.C.*

AMERICAN CHILDREN THROUGH THEIR BOOKS, 1700-1835. By *Monica Kiefer*. Foreword by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1948, pp. 248, \$3.50.) This book is another excellent illustration of the fact that the history of education speaks through many tongues. Here the author discusses many conditions surrounding the lives of children by a careful study and analysis of their books from 1700 to 1835, when Calvinism and extreme pietism worked powerfully over their lives and the lives of their parents as well. The idea of "otherworldliness" was strong in education and in other deep-seated human interests. The author has made the study and analysis very well, and the book makes lively reading about the manners and morals, religion, health and recreation, and the general education of children. In those days before psychology had made them mere chemical episodes, children were considered imps of the devil; and the devil had to be beaten or frightened or otherwise taken out of them. The Bible along with the *New England Primer*, a fruitful source of stern theological knowledge which "taught millions to read and not one to sin," were sturdy and effective instruments for the eradication or regulation of depravity in the young. Many years were to pass before a humane view of children could develop. Until *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and other books with some humor and some absurdities in them appeared, the "mental pabulum of Godly children" and those less so was grim stuff. Wiggleworth's *Day of Doom*, Fox's *Book of Martyrs* and *Pilgrim's Progress* were not designed to make children happy. Samuel

Goodrich ("Peter Parley"), prolific producer of textbooks, "denounced such stories as Red Riding Hood and such nonsense rhymes as 'Hey Diddle Diddle' as being unchristian and unwholesome food for young minds" (pp. 24-25). It was not until Aldrich's *Story of a Bad Boy* and the work of Mark Twain and Kipling came along that heroes could be found in "bad boys" whose backslidings and mischievous pranks shocked earlier generations. Safer for the young was *War with the Devil, or the Young Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness*. Even the physical health of children was attended to, if at all, through superstition and conjecture, and disease, both physical and mental, was generally looked upon as a visitation of providence. There were many "snares of the old deluder." Only a few allusions to toys are found in books for children during the period covered by this study. Play was looked upon as sinful and idleness positively immoral. The author has made a gloomy subject into attractive reading and added substantially to the materials in the social and educational history of this country.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT, *University of North Carolina*

THE AMERICAN CHURCHES: AN INTERPRETATION. By *William Warren Sweet*.

(Nashville, Abington-Cokesbury, 1948, pp. 153, \$1.50.) Professor Sweet compresses into this little volume the results of a lifetime of research and thinking on American church history. The seven chapters, originally delivered as the John Beckly Lectures before the British Methodist Conference in 1946, explain why the "typically American Protestant churches are so exceptionally socially-minded." Beginning with the triumph in colonial America of the left-wing brand of Protestantism that emerged from the Reformation, they demonstrate how the impact of environmental factors, the influence of immigrant and Negro sects, the rise of revivalism, and the growth of Arminianism have all resulted in an activism, theological and institutional, which Professor Sweet considers the essence of American Protestantism. Noting with alarm the trend toward quietism that began in Europe and spread to the United States in the period of disillusionment following the two world wars, he concludes with a plea for a revived energetic social gospel. "God pity us," he writes, "and the world if the time ever comes when we shall throw all the burden on the Lord and fold our hands and acquiesce." For humanitarians both within and without the churches this book will provide heart-warming reading; for historians it offers a stimulating interpretation of the basic trends in American church history.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, *Northwestern University*

THE JOURNALS OF FRANCIS PARKMAN. Edited by *Mason Wade*. Two volumes.

(New York, Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. xxv, 381; 385-718, \$10.00.) The average reader will find this work a mixture of great interest and unbearably tedious minutiae. But for those of us who have vacationed year after year in Parkman's beloved White Mountains and can follow him on every step of his trails, who have known the nooks and crannies of his Boston and Berkshires, who have studied Quebec and Montreal, as he did, for their quintessence, whose European trails and studies have paralleled his own—for such, the minutiae themselves become items of utmost importance. By their very smallness they show us how the magic of genius transmutes the dross of everyday detail into the gold of great historical literature. Both the average reader and the critical historian will applaud the Oregon Trail journal of 1846. Here we can test Parkman the man with Parkman the author. Though Parkman was a social snob of the first order and shows it completely and unequivocally in this diary, the reader of any class will recognize in it far greater merit than in the reworked form that we have known hitherto. For we can swallow snobbery if it is flavored with honesty, spiced with candor, and topped off with the meringue of artistry. When he revamped the diary in

an endeavor to meet the literary style of his day, Parkman published a book that was pale where the original was bright, and a little over-nice where the diary was brutal but strong. The scholarship of the editor is nothing short of amazing. One expects a Guggenheim fellow in historical research to know the ins and outs of Paris archives, but this man outdoes the trained historian in the latter's own field. I went over his lists of manuscript maps, his references to seventeenth century savants, his bibliographies of works in the field of French and British exploration in the New World, and even tried to trip him up on some phases of La Salle's career that are known to only a few, but he emerged unscathed. The books are manufactured in beautiful format, with superb illustrations, handy end-paper maps of Parkman's wanderings, pages and pages of explanatory notes, and a meticulous index. They will be a treasure in anyone's library, but especially in the historian's.

GRACE LEE NUTE, *Minnesota Historical Society*

CONFEDERATE BLOCKADE RUNNING THROUGH BERMUDA, 1861-1865: LETTERS AND CARGO MANIFESTS. Edited by *Frank E. Vandiver*. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1947, pp. xlv, 155, \$3.00.) As the Union blockade of the Southern ports grew tighter in 1862, it became necessary to find an entrepôt for the transfer of goods from the slow, bulky steamers that crossed the Atlantic to small, light-draft, speedy vessels capable of slipping by the Union ships to the Confederate coast. For political as well as geographic reasons, Bermuda was an obvious choice. It is therefore no accident that Bermuda should be the source of documents that throw light, not only on the last lap but on the whole course of the Southern life line of supplies. Two types of documents appear in this volume. Part I contains selections from five letter books. The first four are those of John Tory Bourne, Confederate commercial agent in Bermuda; the fifth is that of Major Smith Stansbury, commanding officer of the Confederate ordnance depot in Bermuda. Part II consists of the cargo manifests, found in the customhouse at St. George's, Bermuda, of the ships that ran the blockade from 1862 to 1865. Together these documents provide helpful source material on Confederate activities in Bermuda, on the men involved in the work, and on related commercial problems. The manifests show clearly the broad range and the order of magnitude of the supplies required and obtained by the Confederacy and the nature of the ships used in the Bermuda-Confederate States run. Mr. Vandiver's introduction is a survey of the whole struggle to maintain the flow of war materials, medical supplies, and clothing from England to the South. Aside from using the papers he has edited, he sums up the literature already in existence, but with particular emphasis on the problems of the Southern agents, their fights with each other, and the role of Bermuda in what he calls "the most successful, large-scale campaign attempted by the South."

WILLIAM DIAMOND, *Washington, D. C.*

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC. By *Herbert Millington*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Number 535.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. 172, \$2.50.) Latin American statesmen have often pointed to James G. Blaine's activities in relation to the war of the Pacific as a horrible example of "bungling diplomacy" on the part of the United States. However, Mr. Blaine is certainly not to blame for all the mistakes of those days, although the author may think so. It is more likely that none of the three secretaries of state during the conflict really appreciated what the commotion along the Pacific coast of South America was all about. In studying this period one wonders whether the State Department ever learns anything from the lessons of history which concern Latin

America. But it is no longer a question whether Latin American statesmen ever forget the lessons of history when relations with the United States are concerned. Dr. Millington, in this doctoral dissertation, points out in his first sentence that the war of the Pacific (1879-1883) is chiefly significant to students of United States diplomatic history because our government's efforts were directed largely toward stopping the conflict and controlling the results—both of which objectives, it should be noted, we failed to accomplish as we had hoped. Plans to achieve these two results were worked out by secretaries Evarts and Blaine (or perhaps in spite of them), and were carried on by the latter's successor, Frelinghuysen. Perhaps here it should be stated that a prime motive for Blaine's diplomatic activities was to bring about peace in the hemisphere so that he could convene the First International Conference of American States. He believed, rightly of course, that peace was essential to United States trade with the countries south of us, knowing full well that one cannot put one's hand in another's pocket unless that person is a friend. Hence, much of the diplomacy of Blaine was based, in a mildly desperate way, on a desire to achieve at any price, peace for his neighbors and profit for his country. In telling the story of our diplomatic relations with the belligerents, the author has used the standard references (and unfortunately few others) which he lists in an all too brief and often inaccurate five-page bibliography. In his first chapter he summarizes briefly the history of the countries concerned in the conflict. His following chapters, with numerous typographical and some factual errors, are entitled "Neutral Rights," "Unofficial Mediation and the Arica Conference," "Pugilistic' Economic Diplomacy," and "The Dawning of a New Era." With the publication of this book and another study which is about to appear (with somewhat different emphasis), it would seem that the subject has been treated adequately. Some persons, however, may still wish to see examined the reaction of public opinion to the diplomacy of the war of the Pacific as found in newspaper accounts, memoirs, letters, and above all pamphlets. Such a study undoubtedly will not affect, and certainly will not alter, the essential facts. Dr. Millington has written an interesting book which may be read with profit not only by students of the period but by United States diplomats who seek careers in Chile, Bolivia, and Peru.

A. CURTIS WILGUS, *George Washington University*

MICHIGAN AND THE CLEVELAND ERA: SKETCHES OF UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN STAFF MEMBERS AND ALUMNI WHO SERVED THE CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATIONS, 1885-89, 1893-97. Edited by *Earl D. Babst and Lewis G. Vander Velde*. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1948, pp. xi, 372, \$2.50.) One naturally asks why the Cleveland era was chosen. The answer is simple. Don M. Dickinson, L.L.B. 1867, had become in 1884 a member of the Democratic National Committee. An ardent admirer and supporter of Cleveland, he soon was a close friend and adviser of the Democratic candidate. He was appointed Postmaster General in 1887. In the campaign of 1892, he was Cleveland's manager and chairman of the National Committee. He was naturally the chief dispenser of patronage in both administrations. He was literally the *deus ex machina* who lifted so many Michigan alumni to public office. The editors have selected thirteen men who were pre-eminent in this period. One may question the inclusion of two of them: John B. Sill and William E. Quinby. Sill can hardly be called an alumnus of the university, as his only connection with it was as regent. Moreover, his service in the minor post of minister to Korea was, to put it charitably, undistinguished. Quinby, the eminent editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, served four years as minister to the Netherlands. Of this service the writers say, "There is little in the record to indicate what his activities

were while abroad." In other cases also the writers were similarly embarrassed. The result is a plethora of genealogical and biographical detail, that depresses even a reviewer who holds three Michigan degrees. Of the eleven others, two were members of the Cabinet, three were assistant secretaries, three were appointed to diplomatic posts (President Angell twice). There were nine appointments to important administrative positions, notably those of Thomas M. Cooley as first chairman and Henry C. Adams as first statistician of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Last, but not least in influence, was that of Henry T. Thurber as private secretary to the President for the second term. Michigan alumni who are not informed about the early history of the university and all students of western migration will be interested in the fact that six of these men were born in New York, two in New England, one in Scotland, only three in Michigan, and only one farther west. All entered public life from the Middle West; ten from Michigan, one each from Illinois, Nebraska, and Ohio.

J. M. THOMAS, *University of Minnesota*

ADMIRAL DEWEY AND THE MANILA CAMPAIGN. Compiled by Commander *Nathan Sargent*, U.S.N., with a Foreword by Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, U.S.N., and an Introduction by Commodore Dudley W. Knox, U.S.N. (Washington, Naval Historical Foundation, 1947, pp. xvi, 128, \$3.00.) To compensate for the paucity of official records of the Manila campaign, Admiral Dewey, after his return to Washington, gave to his aide, Commander Nathan Sargent, the task of compiling a narrative of events from Dewey's assumption of command of the Asiatic Station to the capture of Manila. The resulting manuscript, competently written under Dewey's eye from documents and personal information supplied by him and other participants and attested by the admiral under the date of November 10, 1904, is source material of considerable importance; but inasmuch as it was used by Dewey in the writing of his *Autobiography* (1913), by L. H. Healy and L. Kutner in their biography, *The Admiral* (1944), and by Professor Thomas A. Bailey in the preparation of his article, "Dewey and the Germans at Manila Bay" (*American Historical Review*, October, 1939), its publication a half century after the events it describes throws little if any new light upon those events. In his account of the capture of Manila, August 13, 1898, the author describes the well-known maneuver of the British squadron, which placed it between Dewey and the German cruisers, and remarks that the movement "no doubt was as thoroughly understood by the foreign men-of-war as it was appreciated by our own" (p. 84). If this comment were really contemporary, it would be important, but since it was presumably written after the incident had been inflated by H. C. Lodge and others, it does not impair Professor Bailey's conclusion that the British were merely seeking a better spot from which to observe the bombardment. Illuminating is the rejoicing of the author, speaking we assume for the admiral, over the fact that the signing of the peace protocol in Washington on August 12 was not known in Manila in time to prevent the assault of the thirteenth. "... it was a matter of infinite satisfaction that the result was due to the guns of our fleet, to the bravery of our troops, and to the threatened demonstration on the Spanish coast, rather than to the efforts of diplomacy" (p. 89).

JULIUS W. PRATT, *University of Buffalo*

THE MEDAL OF HONOR OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY. Prepared by the Public Information Division of the Army. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948, pp. vii, 468, \$4.50.) This volume finely printed and bound is the result of the research of Thomas W. Huntington, whose findings were written up by John F. Kanes. The medal of honor was authorized in 1861. Since that date it has been be-

stowed on 2,116 men. The distribution by wars shows 1,200 for deeds of valor in the Civil War, 416 in Indian campaigns, 30 for the war with Spain, 95 in World War I (the conditions were redefined in 1918), 8 to unknown soldiers and to Admiral Greeley and Charles A. Lindbergh, and 292 for World War II. The volume gives the names, records, and states of origin of all recipients. The historical section is well done and surveys the development of the idea from Washington's day to date. The volume is organized and indexed to make it easy to consult. It is a credit to the Public Information Division of the Army and to that unsung publisher, the Government Printing Office.

G.S.F.

PRINT PAPER PENDULUM: GROUP PRESSURES AND THE PRICE OF NEWS-

PRINT. By *L. Ethan Ellis*. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1948, pp. ix, 215, \$3.00.) This book presents an interesting narrative of the efforts of two pressure groups, newspaper publishers and newsprint manufacturers, to influence the price of newsprint. Beginning with the wood-pulp era of 1878-1897, the author traces, in colorful and engaging language, the successive attempts of publishers to obtain cheaper newsprint and pulp. Their attacks were at first leveled in two directions, toward the reduction of tariffs and the unearthing of monopolistic and price-rigging tactics. In an era of trust-busting it was but natural that the bogey of combination should be raised. But early attempts at monopoly-hunting proved less fruitful to publishers than tariff-lowering; hence emphasis was shifted in that direction. In the tariff fights preceding the acts of 1883, 1890, 1894, and 1897, the two opposing groups bitterly contested the outcome. For a time the balance swung slightly in favor of the manufacturers, and tariffs came down but slowly. However, after the turn of the century when it became apparent that American pulpwood resources could not supply the rapidly increasing needs of publishers, Congress bowed to the superior pressure of the press, and newsprint and pulp were put on the free list. Newsprint manufacturing forthwith proceeded to shift to Canada. The demand for newsprint continued apace, and the nations became embroiled in World War I. The balance then swung in favor of manufacturers, and prices and profits rose in a spectacular manner. The ever-vigilant American Newspaper Publishers Association, however, marshaled its forces and elicited the help of the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Justice. Evidence of combination and monopolistic tactics were sought, and the commission, after lengthy investigation, issued a sweeping condemnation of jobbers and manufacturers. Meanwhile, in an effort to control prices and distribute production more equitably to small publishers, drastic legislation was introduced in Congress seeking to have the government "supervise, control and regulate . . . the production and distribution of pulp and paper." This measure, although defeated, indicated the lengths to which certain publishers were willing to go. Falling prices in 1921 brought gradual relief to publishers, and, with the case against the manufacturers settled by the acceptance of pleas of *nolo contendere*, pressure by the publishers was relaxed. Subsequent overexpansion and excess production in Canada depressed the price of newsprint at an alarming rate. Manufacturers attempted to curtail production and bolster prices by the formation of central selling agencies. The provincial premiers of Ontario and Quebec were also asked to intercede on their behalf. Again the publishers demanded and obtained an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission. Political pressure, however, was unnecessary, for the depression of the early thirties brought successively lower prices, and manufacturers' price-fixing attempts were largely abortive. The publishers, nevertheless, continued their vigilance and thwarted all efforts by American or Canadian manufacturers to insert a price-fixing clause in the newsprint code of the N.R.A.

The narrative thus ends with the pendulum well over on the side of the publishers. One wonders why the period 1929-1936 was not extended to 1939, a more logical ending place, since it marked the beginning of another swing in the pendulum. Will the overproduction and depression period of 1922-1929 find a counterpart in the decade ahead? The most serious weakness of this study stems from the author's exclusive dependence on American information. No complete or accurate appraisal of the actions or motives of newsprint manufacturers can be obtained without the Canadian materials. Apart from this limitation, however, the book is outstanding as a piece of careful research.

J. A. GUTHRIE, *State College of Washington*

WOODROW WILSON: A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS PUBLISHED WRITINGS, ADDRESSES, AND PUBLIC PAPERS. By *Laura Shearer Turnbull*, Curator of the Woodrow Wilson Collection, Princeton University Library. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. vi, 173, \$2.00.) The editor has checked, corrected, pruned, rearranged, and brought up to date Howard Seavoy Leach's massive bibliography of Woodrow Wilson, which was split among three volumes of the Baker-Dodd edition of *The Public Papers* (1925-27). The result is a compact listing of more than a thousand pieces, useful for anyone undertaking a study of Wilson, though admittedly not a definitive bibliography. A separate section, noting newspaper reports of Wilson's public statements and papers for the period 1910-12, displays the industry of its contributor, Arthur S. Link, but might well have been absorbed into the main part of the bibliography; at least fifteen of its seventy-six references are partial or complete repetitions of Miss Turnbull's entries. There has been added a list of one hundred books about Woodrow Wilson's life and work, judiciously selected by Katharine E. Brand.

VINCENT L. EATON, *Washington, D. C.*

PRESIDENTIAL SWEEPSTAKES: THE STORY OF POLITICAL CONVENTIONS AND CAMPAIGNS. By *Henry Luther Stoddard*. Edited by *Francis W. Leary*. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1948, pp. 224, \$3.00.) This is the story, journalistically told, of the contests for the United States presidency from the first nominating convention in 1832 through the last Roosevelt campaign. It attempts to do in popular style what Edward Stanwood undertook to do in a more scholarly way many years ago in his *History of the Presidency*. Only the first two chapters can be considered analytical. The first analyzes the presidential nominating convention somewhat extravagantly as the "closest approach the world has ever known to government by direct choice of its citizens." The second analyzes the backgrounds, geographical representation, and political strengths of some of the presidential candidates of America's historic parties. The remainder of the volume describes certain picturesque campaigns, emphasizing especially those of 1840, 1860, 1880, 1884, 1896, 1908, 1912, 1916, 1928, 1932, and 1944. While almost entirely descriptive this latter part presents many shrewd and interesting side lights on the men who wanted to be president and the methods by which they sought to gratify their ambition. The emphasis which the author gives to the showmanship of candidates, the intraparty maneuverings for position, the political deals in back rooms, and the rough-and-tumble demonstrations on the convention floor suggests that he regards those elements as more important than ideological questions and political platforms, as indeed they may well be. He tempers his panegyrics on the essential democracy of the nominating convention with an admission that "perhaps the results have not always placed in the White House the man best fitted by experience for ideal leadership and great responsibilities." He obviously feels that certain presidents, chosen as party nominees by this process, were better champions of American

democracy than others. Theodore Roosevelt, with whose Bull Moose campaign Stoddard was closely identified, remains his *beau ideal* of a president. Apart from the Progressive party convention of 1912, however, the book almost entirely ignores third-party conventions, some of which are certainly among the most dramatic in American history. It should be noted too that the generalization that "no Republican has ever been renominated by his party following defeat at the polls" needs to be revised in the light of the action taken by the Republican convention at Philadelphia in 1948. This book was based not only upon the author's long personal experience with nominating conventions going back to 1884 but also upon considerable research. It was begun when he was well past eighty and, remaining uncompleted at his death at the age of eighty-five, was finished by his literary associate Francis W. Leary. It was a courageous undertaking for an octogenarian and represents a creditable record of performance by a man who, in Mr. Leary's words, was a "kind, gracious, great gentleman . . . reflecting in his personality the America of another day."

DONALD MARQUAND DOZER, *University Park, Maryland*

AMERICAN OPINION ON WORLD AFFAIRS IN THE ATOMIC AGE. By *Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.*, and *Sylvia Eberhart*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. xxi, 152, \$2.50.) This interpretative summary remains very important in spite of any impact of incidents since the two extensive or polling surveys of 6,000 respondents and the two intensive interviewing surveys, which used the area-sampling procedure on 1,200 citizens, conducted before and after the 1946 Bikini atom bomb experiment. The book seeks to ascertain not just "opinion" but the American "frame of mind." Half of the book is devoted to illustrative interviews and details of the survey questions and answers which should prove stimulating to the historian. In August, 1946, for example, two per cent of the American people had never heard of the atom bomb. The reviewer has no data on how American historians now regard such public opinion studies. When in time there has been created a mass of polls on almost all subjects, presumably historians will have to cope with such results. Probably this book and similar testings will be taken as an "ominous sample" (New York *Times* headline) of American public ignorance on world affairs. A third of us could not explain the purpose of the United Nations a year after its establishment, and the same number of us "live in a world that psychologically does not include foreign affairs." The authors conclude that "this study points to the need for greater effort and skill in focusing the attention of large segments of the public on the problems of our relations with other countries and on the related problems of the control of atomic energy" and "the people need a clearer perception of the world as a total dynamic situation of interacting parts" (p. 59). Here one might suggest there needs to be similar searching studies of the "frame of mind" of foreign peoples. A few interpretations can be cited. "Examples could be multiplied almost endlessly from the files of public opinion surveys to show that the reactions to a proposal made in general terms [e.g., "co-operation"] differ widely from reactions to what is essentially the same proposal made in specific terms" (p. 8). Those who think at all specifically about our international relations think about Russia, and it is added that our feelings about Russia seem to be based far less on ideological grounds than on a general belief that Russia is indifferent to all values except self-interest (pp. 26, 49). While a large majority of the public is convinced of the tremendous destructive power of the bomb, this has not served to intensify concern with our international relations; a majority of the people also believes there is nothing they can do to help prevent war (pp. 20, 29).

RICHARD H. HEINDEL, *Washington, D. C.*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE CANDIDATES, OR, THE HUMOURS OF A VIRGINIA ELECTION: A COMEDY IN THREE ACTS. By Colonel Robert Munford, of Mecklenburg, in Virginia. Edited with an Introduction by Jay B. Hubbell and Douglass Adair. (Williamsburg, William and Mary Quarterly, 1948, pp. 43, \$1.50.) Robert Munford, who died in 1784, was an amateur in letters but a man of wide experience in eighteenth century Virginia politics. For this reason, his satirical three-act play about a Virginia election is better as a historical document than as drama. Even so it has an assured place in American literary history because it is the first of a long line of American political satires and is one of the earliest of native American comedies. One does not have to make much allowance for the "satiric glee" of this "biting tale" to get an accurate description of Virginia elections a few years before the American Revolution. The account of what went on at the courthouse while the votes were being taken is brief. On this subject one can learn more from other sources such as the original poll sheets

and contested election cases. But Munford is supreme in describing the motives, ambitions, tricks, and vote-getting techniques of the candidates, such as joining interests, flattering the voters, making extravagant promises, dispensing liquor, and giving treats. The comedy reflects the interrelation of politics and society, the attitudes of the times, and the customs of the people, matters which Munford knew too well to discuss analytically; but Douglass Adair, one of the editors of the present edition, makes good use of this play as a window for seeing the structure of society and political habits of eighteenth century Virginia. The other editor, Jay B. Hubbell, writes with authority about Munford's life and the place of the play in American literature. *The Candidates* was written about the year 1770. It was put into print in Petersburg in 1798 as part of a collection of Munford's works. The present attractively printed and ably edited small book in an offprint from the *William and Mary Quarterly* of April, 1948.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR, *Duke University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

- THE TENNESSEE. Volume II, THE NEW RIVER: CIVIL WAR TO TVA. By Donald Davidson. [Rivers of America.] (New York, Rinehart, 1948, pp. 377, \$3.50.) Professor Davidson's second volume on the Tennessee River opens with the Civil War campaign of the Union forces to secure control of the river. About a third of the book pertains to this story. This part is brilliantly written and makes exciting reading. It is good history, presented with a competent appreciation of the importance of the Tennessee in the Federal strategy of securing control of, or wrecking, the Confederacy's transportation system. This is probably the best, brief, connected account written on the Tennessee phase. In his description of Reconstruction in the state of Tennessee Davidson gives a refreshing treatment that is marked by a well-informed and perceptive interpretation. The postwar influx of social rebuilders, a new variety of "Utopians," is treated as a recurrence of the old lure of this land as a place to make dreams come true. The author takes note of the ambitious Northerners, including ex-soldiers, who came with their eyes on the iron, coal, and timber resources, married local girls, identified themselves with the tasks of rebuilding, stimulated the growth of cities and industry, and reared a generation that became "more Southern than the Southerners." He notes, too, that the movement was not all one way. Out of the valley emerged such

men as Adolph S. Ochs, the journalistic titan, who acquired the tottering New York *Times* and made it world famous. The chapter, "Trials by Jury and Otherwise," portrays the poignant effects upon the valley of the Scopes trial and the Scottsboro case. The false impressions arising from an advertising stunt provoked the horrified scrivenings of some humorless and provincial outsiders who advertised the people of the valley as ignoramuses and Bible-belt morons. The interference of outsiders in both cases was an insult from which there was no immediate redress. The passing of the steamboat is chronicled with sympathy and sadness. The coming of the motor-driven towboats is viewed with an intimation of reproach for the new river development that accommodates them. It is unfortunate that Professor Davidson's assignment required the inclusion of the latest phase of Valley history. For his handling of TVA has impaired the value of an otherwise admirable book. This, the most gratifying story in the history of national conservation, is presented with a perverse and myopic interpretation that does the author little credit—except, perhaps, in the eyes of the haters of TVA and all its works. Some of his criticisms are, indeed, valid. But his commendatory statements appear as reluctant as a small boy yielding to castor oil. He gives the impression that TVA was bad because it was a government corporation, imported from outside the Valley, and not subject to local control—a fact that to many seems one of its virtues. His chapters on the new order of things are lamentations for the good old days, and for the good bottom lands now covered by the dammed waters in the Kingdom of Kilowatt. A "Miniver Cheevy," scorning the new, the author finds it hard to admit much good in this instrument of progress. But the main facts are given, and, overlooking the personal bias, the part on the TVA is readable and instructive, thus completing the first good history of the Tennessee River and its valley.

CULVER H. SMITH, *University of Chattanooga*

SKETCHES OF IOWA AND WISCONSIN. By John Plumbe, Jr. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1948, pp. xvii, 103, \$4.00.) Iowa Territory was only a year old when John Plumbe published his *Sketches* in 1839. The work of a typical frontier booster, it did much to draw settlers to the new territory extending from the Missouri border northward along the west bank of the Mississippi. Those who owned the booklet must have read and reread it, and then passed it on to others, for the few copies that have survived show evidences of hard wear. In his introduction to the present edition, Dr. William J. Petersen, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, notes that only twenty-one copies of the original book are now known. Thus it is today "one of the rarest Iowana gems." The Iowa society, however, has made it possible to buy for four dollars a better copy than can be consulted in any of the nineteen libraries possessing first editions. The reprint, according to Dr. Petersen, is a composite affair, for which were reproduced the text of one copy, the front cover and title page of another, the back cover of a third, and the map of still another. A few minor typographical errors were corrected; otherwise the reprint "follows the original line for line and page for page." His title notwithstanding, Plumbe's Iowa district took in a large section of the present state of Minnesota, but no part of Wisconsin. The author quoted at length from his contemporaries, like Albert Lea, who extolled the beauties and the prospects of the area. The favorable "Report of the Delegates of the Mississippi Emigration Society" of Toronto, Canada, is printed in full; from a Pittsburgh newspaper Plumbe drew an account of a "fashionable tour" up the Mississippi to Fort Snelling and the Falls of St. Anthony. It should perhaps be noted that as long ago as 1925 Plumbe's narrative was reprinted in the *Annals of Iowa*. The earlier ver-

sion, however, had neither the contemporary flavor of this facsimile reprint nor the useful setting provided by Dr. Petersen's informing "Historical Introduction."

BERTHA L. HEILBRON, *Minnesota Historical Society*

MINING CAMPS: A STUDY IN AMERICAN FRONTIER GOVERNMENT. By *Charles Howard Shinn*. Introduction by *Joseph Henry Jackson*. (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. xxvi, 291, vii, \$4.00.) This book is primarily a study in American frontier government. It concerns an extraordinary period in history, the gold rush to California, when men in large numbers were thrown together in a remote area without the restraining influence of law and order. True, California had been a part of Mexico and had well-established rules and customs, but these affected only the sparse settlements extending from San Diego to Sonoma and did not exercise any practical control over the unoccupied mountainous area where the gold was found. In other words, the miners flocked to the virgin foothills and mountains, where they soon found it necessary to create new social regulations for their own preservation. Shinn, who had come to California as a boy in the early fifties, grew up in the decade following the gold rush excitement. He was educated at the College School, later the University of California, and taught school in various parts of the state, traveled about, and learned much about the history of the period. Later he went to Johns Hopkins to continue his studies, attracted by its president, Daniel Coit Gilman, who had been president of the University of California. There, in an environment of learning and scholarship, Shinn undertook the serious study of California's frontier development in the decades which he himself knew much about, and which culminated in this volume, originally published in 1885. Beginning with a review of European mining systems in ancient and medieval times, Shinn traced them to the United States, to the Spanish-American colonies, especially Mexico, and on up to California. There he found the Spanish *alcalde* system effective in local government, and he gives one of the best accounts ever written of how it functioned. With the coming of the miners, he unfolds, in detail, the story of their experiences, from the inauguration of the earliest mining courts to the development of a full-fledged system of miners' law and order. Mining camp grew into town government; in short, the country soon outgrew the disorderly days of the early miners and took on the aspect of a mature society. "The habit of law and regulation was planted in these Argonauts before they reached the diggings, and the influence of their understanding of the need for law, won through hard experience, was felt far beyond the period and the place. These men who had worked out practical methods of self-government the hard way moved out to new communities. . . . Wherever they went they remembered the discipline of their Sierra camps." So writes Joseph Henry Jackson in introducing the book. Shinn understood this transformation. His account of it is one of the classics of frontier social growth.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND, *University of California*

GOLD, GUNS, AND GHOST TOWNS. By *W. A. Chalfant*. (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1947, pp. xi, 175, \$3.00.) For fifty-five years W. A. Chalfant was editor of a small-town newspaper at Bishop, in California's Owens Valley, near the Nevada boundary. What W. A. White did for Kansas, Chalfant did for this desert mining country east of the Sierra Nevada. For years his historical sketches of mining camp life and of ghost towns appeared in his paper, the *Inyo Register*. The present volume includes what purport to be the choicest selections from his two earlier books, *Outposts of Civilization* (1928) and *Tales of the Pioneers* (1942), both now out of print. His locale extends from the eastern slope of the California Sierra, to Nevada's Utah border.

The first chapter, and perhaps the best, consists of the reminiscences of his father as a boy pioneer of '49 in the Feather River placer diggings. That on Shorty Harris is also by another writer. Among the ghost camps sketched are Bodie, Lundy, and Monoville in California; Aurora, Virginia City, Pioche, Hamilton, Columbus, and El Dorado in Nevada. Death Valley is here omitted. Compared with Rodman Paul's *California Gold*, similar in theme, Chalfant's work is not so solid or thorough an account. Without documentation and written first as journalism, it is clear that Chalfant had made a study of the chief printed authorities. Steeped in mining camp lore from the boom days of his Nevada Comstock boyhood, he spent years collecting the written and oral versions of oldtimers. He had a gift for anecdote, and is at his best in describing people, unique and picturesque local characters especially, and incident, usually violent in nature. Best at portraying the colorful, he had much interest also in the topography and natural history of the area that he made his own. The final chapter is a minor literary classic, as an impressionistic essay on dead mining camps and ghost towns today. A few errors are noted. The Italian woodchoppers were killed at Eureka, not Elko (p. 82). The enemy of Justice Field shot by Neagle was named Terry, not Levy (p. 83). Chalfant was a bit naive and uncritical to accept the story exactly as aged Senator Stewart told it (pp. 126-29) regarding John (not James) Wesley North, Nevada judicial corruption, and resignations at Stewart's demand. The Stanford Press has issued a volume handsome in appearance.

AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON, *University of Nevada*

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James S. Cunningham

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SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

THE INCA CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY AND THE SPANISH ADMINISTRATION IN PERU. By *Charles Gibson*. [University of Texas Institute of Latin-American Studies, Latin-American Studies, IV.] (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1948, pp. 146.) "Sovereignty" is used in this paper to mean "kingship" or "government." The author's plan is to study the rules of succession and the organization of government in the Inca Empire and show how the Spaniards rationalized them to fit into their own ideas of the rights of native rulers. Where Gibson is dealing with Spanish legal theory and its application by Viceroy Toledo he makes a good case, although the viceroy's rationalizations probably had more effect on the king's conscience than on his own administrative policy. The reader interested in the facts of Inca and colonial government organization will be badly disappointed, however. The basic difficulty is that Gibson uses a most inadequate critical method to sift the items of his long and excellent bibliography. Instead of weeding out his contradictory sources by an examination of each author's opportunities for knowledge, prejudices, and general reliability, he cites all writers, ancient and modern, more or less impartially and tries to resolve the

contradictions by choosing the most "logical" account for each particular situation. He even seems to be unaware of widespread copying among the older writers: that Acosta, for instance, copied from Polo, Herrera from Cieza and Acosta, Las Casas and Román from Molina of Santiago, and Anello Oliva from Garcilaso. In addition, he gets tangled up in Means's unworkable classification of chroniclers into "Garcilasan" and "Toledan" schools in a way which it would take more than a review to unravel. The paper is diffuse, full of digressions, and easy to criticize in detail. For example, in discussing the Inca administration Gibson confuses the famous decimal classification of official posts with the posts themselves, producing a confusion comparable to what would result from describing the organization of a United States government bureau in terms of civil service pay grades. The extent of the persistence of Inca organization in the colony is obscured because the decimal classification was lost early, whereas the provincial nobility carried on the traditions of Inca government until the *cacicazgos* were abolished by Bolívar.

JOHN HOWLAND ROWE, *University of California*

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BRAZIL

- THE CHURCH AND FREEMASONRY IN BRAZIL, 1872-1875: A STUDY IN REGALISM. By Sister Mary *Crescentia Thornton*, of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1948, pp. viii, 287.) This doctoral dissertation was assembled under rather fortunate circumstances: the author was well prepared academically

for her task; her advisers were equipped to give intelligent counsel; and available materials for good workmanship were both significant and plentiful. The introductory chapter (26 pp.) deals with the activities of the Freemasons in Europe as their agencies played with the liberal ideologies of Condorcet, Jansen, Kant, and others. Obviously, these masonic activities brought about sharp conflicts with those agencies defending revealed religion, the agencies of the Catholic Church. Just as this introductory chapter lays the general European background for the entire study, so chapters two and three, "Liberalism and Freemasonry in Brazil" and "Church and State in Brazil," compose a background for the specific controversy between the church and Freemasonry in the South American country during the era 1872-1875, the controversy that gives title to the volume. Chapters four to eight, the heart of the treatise, cover these topics: the relationship between Freemasonry and the lay brotherhoods; the embroilment of the imperial government in the quarrel between the church hierarchy and the Freemasons; the trial and imprisonment of the bishops of Olinda and Pará; and the repercussions, particularly the political, floriating from the complicated conflict. Although the present reviewer appreciates the outstanding value of the study, particularly for those students who do not have access to the pertinent materials or who are unable to fathom them because of the language barrier, he does question the wisdom of designating the subtitle to the volume "A Study in Regalism," which is misleading. He also feels that a careful reading of the treatise will reveal an unfortunate bias on the part of the author in favor of her church and "revealed religion." Perhaps the regalists "ought to obey God, rather than men," but it should not be assumed that only members of the church hierarchy are God's agents. Finally, pages 98 (footnote 141) and 200 show very careless editorial work or proofreading on a piece of bookmaking that is generally above criticism.

LAWRENCE F. HILL, *Ohio State University*

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

Historical Activities

The papers of Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy in Woodrow Wilson's cabinet and ambassador to Mexico under Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been presented to the Library of Congress by his four sons. Their value is commensurate with the importance of the career of the man who accumulated them. The long series of letters from Woodrow Wilson and from Franklin D. Roosevelt are of special interest, of course, but there are also many letters from others of high prominence in government and politics and in the newspaper world. While the early files are reported to have been destroyed by fire, some matter prior to 1913 has been preserved, much of it family correspondence. The rich documentation begins with Daniels' service as Secretary of the Navy, 1913-21, and practically all phases of that long cabinet term appear to be reflected. Although the Daniels Papers constitute one of the largest bodies of personal papers in the Library, they have already been roughly arranged and shelved and most of them are available for use by competent scholars.

General Carl Spaatz, who recently retired as chief of staff of the United States Air Force, has presented his papers pertaining to World War II to the Library. Use of these papers, which more than fill fourteen standard file cases, is restricted. They are being arranged by the Aeronautics Division in consultation with General Spaatz and with the Division of Manuscripts, in which it is expected that they will ultimately be deposited. A comprehensive description of them is being prepared for publication in the Library's *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*.

The Library has acquired a collection of correspondence, original Confederate war maps, field sketch books, and other papers of Major Jedediah Hotchkiss, topographical engineer under General "Stonewall" Jackson and later a mining engineer of national reputation. The collection is described in some detail, with emphasis upon manuscript maps and related papers, in the November, 1948, issue of the Library's *Quarterly Journal*.

Some forty papers apparently accumulated by John Sherman as member of a House committee sent to investigate the situation in Kansas in the spring of 1856 have been presented to the Library by Professor and Mrs. Roy F. Nichols. The papers record much of the testimony presented before the committee and include letters written by Governor Wilson Shannon, J. B. Donaldson, United States marshal of the territory, and the congressional committee itself to residents of Lawrence in May, 1856, and an "Indictment of Grand Jury for High Treason."

Recent additions to Library of Congress holdings of microfilm reproductions of manuscripts in other repositories include copies of seventy-one volumes of British Foreign Office papers from the Public Record Office (correspondence of the

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with the minister to the United States, 1873-79 and papers regarding the Canadian fisheries question, 1867-73, the cession of Alaska by Russia to the United States, 1835-68, and the Alaska boundary, 1872-76); additional copies of documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, relating to the so-called "Avila-Cortés conspiracy" in Mexico; and copies of the Thomas Jefferson papers in the Henry E. Huntington Library, the library of the University of California at Los Angeles, the Pierpont Morgan Library, and the New York Public Library.

Among materials in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library recently made available for public inspection are Roosevelt's papers as New York state senator, 1911-13, and a number of units from his presidential papers. The latter include papers relating to Roosevelt's administration of the departments and agencies of the government, among them the Department of Commerce, 1933-45, the Council of National Defense, 1933-45, the National Resources Planning Board, 1934-44, the Federal Loan Agency, 1939-45, and the National Labor Relations Board, 1940-45. Some materials relating to the wartime agencies of the government, including the Office of Production Management, 1940-43, the Defense Plant Corporation, 1940-45, and the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board, 1941-42, have also been made available. Other files now open for use pertain to labor problems and organizations, such as those relating to labor, 1940-45, the American Federation of Labor, 1933-45, and the Council of Industrial Organizations, 1936-45. Inquiries concerning the nature and amount of these materials should be addressed to the Director of the Library at Hyde Park, New York.

Yale University announces that Mr. William Robertson Coe has completed the gift of his great collection of Western Americana to the Yale Library. In terms of years the collection ranges from the early Spanish explorers to the building of the overland railroads; in area it covers Alaska, the Canadian Northwest, and all the eight western states from the Pacific eastward to the Dakota country. Early newspapers are an added feature of a collection rich in early books, travel guides, diaries, logbooks, and business papers (Astor, Hudson Bay, and Northwest Fur Company). The full collection contains nearly 8,000 items.

Under the title *United States Treaty Developments* the Department of State has begun the publication, in loose-leaf form, of "up-to-date factual information on the subsequent history" of international agreements published by the Department in its bulletins and in the *United States Statutes at Large*. It is a guide for researchers and international lawyers to authoritative material rather than a collection of notes, digests, and critical comments. The idea came from the American Society of International Law and the execution of it—under the direction of Bryton Barron, Assistant for Treaty Affairs, Office of the Legal Adviser—is a

credit to the Division of Publications of the State Department. The bulky, necessarily unpaginated and unbound volume containing the basic first issues is for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., and the price is \$4.00.

The *Journal of the History of Ideas* has very appropriately paid tribute to Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy at seventy-five by giving over its October issue to a group of articles on various phases of Lovejoy's thought. Among other papers are George Boas's "A. O. Lovejoy as Historian of Philosophy," and Maurice Mandelbaum's "Arthur O. Lovejoy and the Theory of Historiography."

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of grants-in-aid of research to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American history prior to the year 1815. These grants are made in conjunction with the publication program of the Institute, and upon the condition that the recipients shall submit the completed product of their researches to the Institute for consideration for publication. For encouragement of projects already in progress, in the social, political, economic, religious, artistic, and intellectual history of the American colonies and of the early republic, the Institute is ready to make grants varying in value according to the needs of the individual during the period for which the grant is made, and with the understanding that the recipient shall devote his entire energies to the project during that time. Ordinarily grants will not exceed \$1,000. In making the awards, particular emphasis will be laid upon the character, intellectual promise, and demonstrated ability of the applicant as well as his preparation for the project and the nature of the undertaking. Grants will not be made to facilitate the completion of work for academic degrees. Early application for the grants will be advantageous; candidates must file their applications not later than March 15, 1949. Announcement of awards will be made May 15, 1949. Requests for application forms and other information should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The Business Historical Society has recently announced its second annual fellowship in business history. The fellowship will be granted in the spring of 1949 and will be made available for a twelve-month period beginning September, 1949. It will carry a stipend of \$2,500 and will enable an advanced scholar to spend a year of research and study in the field of business history at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration. Applications for the fellowship must be submitted not later than March 1, 1949. Inquiries should be directed to the Executive Secretary of the Business Historical Society, Inc., 217 Baker Library, Boston 64, Massachusetts.

The American Jewish Historical Society announces a contest offering cash awards for the best essays on a subject related to American Jewish history. The closing date is September 30, 1949. Particulars may be obtained from the Historical Essay Contest, American Jewish Historical Society, 3080 Broadway, New York 27.

The first Bancroft Prizes were awarded to Allan Nevins for his *Ordeal of the Union* and to Bernard DeVoto for his *Across the Wide Missouri*. The prizes, awarded annually for the "best books published in the preceding year in the field of American history (including biography), diplomacy, or international relations," were established by the will of the late Frederic Bancroft and are administered through Columbia University. The selection jury consisted of Douglas S. Freeman, Avery Craven, and Carl Van Doren.

A grant of \$130,000 was recently made by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to the Social Science Research Council to support its program of fellowships and travel grants for research in world areas. These funds will enable the Council to continue its national fellowship program set up last year to assist students, teachers, and research workers to carry on field work in foreign countries. Further information may be secured from Mr. Elbridge Sibley, Executive Associate, Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, the University of Wisconsin is expanding its program of courses in the Scandinavian area. The new program under the direction of Professor Einar Haugen will be initiated in the fall of 1949. All plans are being worked out in close co-operation with the University of Minnesota, whose similar program was noted in the October, 1947, issue of the *Review* (p. 209).

The International Institute of Political and Constitutional History with headquarters in Paris has resumed its activities, which were suspended in 1940. A plenary session is planned for 1949 to be held at the Sorbonne. The official organ, *Revue d'Histoire politique et constitutionnelle*, will be revived. Professor Boris Mirkin-Guetzévitch of the École Libre des Hautes Études, New York, is executive vice-president. Among other vice-presidents are Crane Brinton, Harvard, and John P. Chamberlain, Columbia.

The date for the Anglo-American Historical Conference in 1949 has been definitely set. It will be July 7, 8, and 9, in London. The chairman, Professor H. Hale Bellot, would be glad to hear from American historians who will be in England in the summer of 1949. He may be addressed in care of the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, London, W.C. 1.

Sponsored by the history, English, and Latin departments of Wellesley College, a symposium in medieval studies in honor of Edna Virginia Moffett, professor of history, was held at the college on November 16-17. Visiting lecturers were Helen M. Cam of Cambridge, England, newly appointed professor at Harvard and Radcliffe, and Elias Avery Lowe, of Oxford University and the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

The Agricultural History Society held its annual meeting on September 16, 1948, in the National Archives. The program consisted of the presidential address by Professor Frederick Merk, of Harvard University, on the "Antecedents of the Grangers."

The State Historical Society of Missouri celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding at a meeting on October 15, in the Daniel Boone Hotel, Columbia.

The number of doctoral dissertations accepted by American universities rose to 2,587 in 1947 as against 1,708 in 1946. This is still below the peak year of 1942. Chemistry (427), education (299), and economics (167) lead the list. History (113) is sixth, just below physics (119) and just above psychology (106) and biochemistry (105). English literature is fourth with 143. These figures and much more data, *i.e.*, institutions, theses subjects, and authors, are given in the fourteenth report (1948) of the Association of Research Libraries edited by A. H. Trotter.

The extent to which arms from the Austrian Netherlands and the principality of Liège were sent to America during the Revolutionary War is being investigated by Baron Albert de Dorlodot, Suarlée, Belgium. He would be grateful for any hints as to relevant material in American archives and private papers.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

During the autumn quarter, 1948, at the University of Chicago Sir F. Maurice Powicke, Regius professor emeritus of history, Oxford University, was Alexander White visiting professor of medieval history. He is to be followed during the winter and spring quarters of the current academic year by Professor François L. Ganshof of the University of Ghent. Professor Ganshof will offer a seminar each quarter on Carolingian institutions.

Wallace Notestein, Sterling professor of English history emeritus, Yale, has been appointed Eastman professor at Oxford University for the year 1949-50.

Louis M. Hacker, professor of economic history in Columbia University, is in England this year as Harmsworth professor of American history at Oxford University and as a Fellow of Queens College.

J. E. Wallace Sterling, Edward S. Harkness professor of history and government in the California Institute of Technology and formerly on the staff of the Hoover War Library, has been appointed director of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.

Godfrey Davies has succeeded Louis B. Wright as editor in chief of the *Huntington Library Quarterly*.

David H. Willson, professor of history at the University of Minnesota, will be in England and Scotland for six months in 1949 on a Guggenheim Fellowship to complete his study of King James I.

Fulmer Mood, special assistant to the president of the University of California, has been granted leave of absence to go to the University of Wisconsin, where, at the invitation of the Committee on the Study of American Civilization, he will undertake to prepare a biography of Frederick Jackson Turner.

Samuel C. McCulloch, of Rutgers University, spent the past summer in Australia making a thorough search in Sydney, Melbourne, and Canberra for source materials on a projected study of humanitarian activity in early Australian history.

Mrs. J. H. Sun, chairman of the department of history in St. John's University, Shanghai, is a visiting lecturer at Wellesley College this year.

Leslie Whittaker Dunlap has been appointed assistant chief of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress. After completing his studies in the fields of American history and librarianship at Columbia, Dr. Dunlap spent three years as assistant librarian at the University of Wisconsin and then three years as assistant chief of the General Reference and Bibliography Division of the Library of Congress.

At the University of Buffalo J. Fred Rippey of the University of Chicago will serve as visiting professor of history in the second semester of the academic year 1948-49. He will take over the courses of Julius W. Pratt, who will teach at Harvard during the second semester.

Howard M. Ehrmann, associate professor of history in the University of Michigan, will be on sabbatical leave during the second semester of the current

academic year. He plans to spend most of his time in the Hoover Institute and War Library, Stanford, California, in writing a book on World War II. Through an error in transcription Professor Ehrmann appeared in the October issue as a new appointment at Michigan, where he has been a member of the history department since 1927 and an associate professor since 1937.

William B. Willcox, of the department of history of the University of Michigan, has been on sabbatical leave during the first semester of the current academic year, working on the completion of a study of British power since the sixteenth century.

Gordon W. Prange, professor of European history in the University of Maryland, has been granted an extension of his leave of absence to continue his service in General Headquarters, Far Eastern Command, Tokyo, Japan. He is chief of the Pacific Theater Division, G-2 Historical Section.

David Hecht of Bowdoin College has been granted a leave of absence for the current academic year and is now at the Hoover Library and Institute, Stanford, California, as a Hoover research fellow in Slavic studies.

Indiana University announces the appointments of John D. Barnhart as chairman of the department of history and of Maurice G. Baxter as instructor in the same department.

In the University of Pittsburgh George B. Fowler has been appointed professor of medieval history and William H. Dusenberry assistant professor of Hispanic-American history.

Richard W. Leopold, formerly of Harvard University, has been appointed associate professor of history in Northwestern University. Professor Leopold is directing the courses in American diplomatic history and is co-director of the survey course in American history.

The University of New Mexico announces the following staff changes in the department of history: France V. Scholes, dean of the graduate school and professor of history, has been made academic vice-president; Enrique Lugo-Silva, formerly assistant professor in Wittenberg College, has been appointed assistant professor of history; Frank D. Reeve has been granted a year's leave of absence to write a constitutional history of the United States; Joseph O. Baylen has been appointed instructor in history.

Arthur Reed Hogue has resigned as academic dean and professor of history at

Hanover College to accept a position in the department of history at the University of Illinois.

Raymond H. Fisher has been promoted to associate professor of history and Jere C. King to assistant professor of history in the University of California, Los Angeles.

Thomas P. Martin, formerly of the Library of Congress, has been serving as visiting professor of history at Ohio University during the first semester of the current academic year.

In the George Washington University Myron Law Koenig has been promoted to the rank of professor of American history and Ronald Bettes Thompson, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed assistant professor of European history. Howard Maxwell Merriman, professor of history, has been granted sabbatical leave for the current academic year, and Stetson Conn, formerly of Amherst College and now a member of the Historical Section, Department of the Army, is offering a part of Dr. Merriman's work during the latter's absence.

Carl E. Schorske is on leave this year from Wesleyan University on a Rockefeller grant.

W. Robert Parks has been appointed associate professor of history and government in Iowa State College.

W. Stanford Reid has been promoted to assistant professor of history in McGill University. He has also received a grant from the American Philosophical Society to carry on his research in Scotland and Europe on the background of the Scottish Reformation.

Robert E. Bader, formerly of the University of Nebraska, has been appointed head of the department of history and political science in Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio.

A. Edythe Mange, formerly of Southeast Missouri State College, has been appointed professor of history in the Mississippi State College for Women.

Demas E. Barnes of the University of Pittsburgh has been promoted to associate professor of history.

Robert Walcott, jr., has been promoted to associate professor of history in the College of Wooster.

Schafer Williams has been appointed associate professor and Dorothy Forbis Behen and Charles E. Lee have been appointed assistant professors in the department of history of Roosevelt College, Chicago.

Harry W. Nerhood has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history, and Alexander DeConde has been appointed assistant professor of history in Whittier College, Whittier, California.

In Mississippi Southern College J. Treadwell Davis has been appointed associate professor of history and Porter L. Fortune, jr., assistant professor of history.

G. Georgiades Arnakis, formerly of Pierce College, Athens, Greece, is now assistant professor of classics in the University of Kansas City, where he also teaches Greek and Near Eastern history.

Louis A. R. Yates, formerly of the University of Southern California, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history and political science in Bradley University, Peoria, Illinois.

Charles S. Blackton and Howard D. Williams have been promoted to assistant professors of history in Colgate University.

Paul Kosok is on a year's leave of absence from Long Island University to pursue his studies of the irrigation canals of the Incas in Peru.

David G. Yuengling has been appointed assistant professor of American history in Phillips University, Enid, Oklahoma.

A. B. Bender has been promoted to professor of history in Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, Missouri.

Harry Ammon of Washington, D. C., has been appointed librarian of the Maryland Historical Society and assumed his duties on September 1, 1948.

Albert W. Gendebien has been appointed assistant professor in history in Lafayette College.

William Henry Masterson has been appointed assistant professor of history and Warner Everett Mills, jr., has been appointed instructor in history and government at the Rice Institute.

The University of Michigan announces the following appointments: Sidney

Fine has been appointed instructor in charge of courses in late nineteenth century American history; Donald F. Drummond has been made instructor in history; and John W. Hall has been appointed instructor in charge of courses in the history of the Far East.

Raiford E. Sumner has been appointed assistant professor of history in Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia.

Ann Beck, formerly of Rockford College, has joined the history staff of Central College in North Little Rock, Arkansas.

John Winters has been appointed instructor in history and John B. Clark, jr., has been appointed acting assistant professor of history in the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

Eugene Keith Chamberlin has been appointed instructor in Hispanic-American and United States history in Montana State University.

Kenneth V. Lottick has been appointed associate professor of education in Willamette University, Salem, Oregon.

Frederick Kuhns, formerly assistant executive secretary of the Federation of Churches of Rochester, New York, has been appointed assistant professor of religion in Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

RECENT DEATHS

It is with sorrow that we must record the death, on September 1, 1948, of an honored former president and wise counselor of the American Historical Association, Charles Austin Beard, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. A native of the Hoosier State, who never forgot his early years in the Middle West, he was graduated in 1898 from Depauw University, which conferred upon him nineteen years later the honorary degree of doctor of laws. A postgraduate year of study at Oxford directed his attention to the history of English local government during the Tudor period, and he investigated various county records under the guidance of Professor F. York Powell. Returning to this country, he continued his researches in history and government first at Cornell and then at Columbia, where Professors Goodnow and Osgood urged him to complete his doctoral thesis, *The Office of Justice of the Peace in England* (1904). His careful appraisal of the origin, nature, and significance of that office reminded some of his readers of the great Coke's remark: "It is such a form of subordinate government for the tranquillity and quiet of the realm as no part of the Christian world hath the like." From 1904 to

1917 Dr. Beard taught at Columbia, serving successively as lecturer in history, adjunct professor of politics, associate professor, and professor of politics; but no departmental lines or academic barriers hemmed in his inquiring mind. With James Harvey Robinson he wrote *The Development of Modern Europe* (1907) and compiled the *Readings* to accompany it—two volumes which many a college teacher soon came to regard as indispensable texts. His *American Government and Politics* (1910) and *American City Government* (1912) challenged conventional approaches and placed more emphasis on the forces generating political action than on the resulting institutional forms. There were some historians who took exception to his *Contemporary American History* (1914), regarding the title as self-contradictory; but he maintained that the recent past deserved more careful scrutiny than it was then receiving from scholars trained in the techniques of historical research. His remarkable talents as a teacher—his closely reasoned analysis and his skillful presentation of evidence, his sharp definitions, and his witty deflation of pomposity and pretense—brought him groups of superior students, who became his devoted friends, perennially sought his advice, and affectionately thought of him as “Uncle Charlie.”

The demands of teaching, however exacting, could not stifle his scholarly impulses. The publication of *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913), for which he thought he “received more whacks than praise,” made him the central figure in a sharp controversy, but it slowly changed the point of view of historians concerning the framing of our fundamental law. Nothing has yet superseded his clinical dissection of the Hamiltonian system or his exposition of the reasons for the growth of Jeffersonian dissent, which he set down in his *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (1915). Although Beard was not an economic determinist and never resorted to the Marxian dialectic, he was deeply concerned with the interrelations of economics and government and their manifestations in political action. Explaining his position, he wrote: “It was largely by recognizing the power of economic interests in the field of politics and making skillful use of them that the Fathers of the American Constitution placed themselves among the great practicing statesmen of all ages and gave instructions to succeeding generations in the art of government.” Perhaps the most explicit statement of his views, however, appeared in his *Economic Basis of Politics* (1922).

After he resigned from the Columbia faculty, Beard bore a hand in the establishment of the New School of Social Research, served for five years (1917–1922) as director of the Training School for Public Service in New York, and became adviser to the staff of the Tokyo Institute of Municipal Research. In the critical days following the Japanese earthquake (1923), Viscount Geto, minister of home affairs, called upon him for counsel in planning municipal reconstruction projects. Meanwhile, with his wife, Mary R. Beard, he was at work on a multivolume study of American life. The publication of the first two volumes, *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927), brought a chorus of praise, with scarcely a discordant note.

The Beards were impressed with the unique character of American society, and they felt that it could make its highest contribution to world civilization only if it retained its freedom of action, independent of any alien civilization. They said this with even greater emphasis in *America in Mid-Passage* (1939) and *The American Spirit* (1942), which may be regarded as the third and fourth parts of their classic. "Continentalism" became a fundamental thesis in many of Charles Beard's provocative discussions of the foreign policy of the United States, and it runs like a self-strengthening thread through such studies as *The Idea of National Interest* (1934), *The Open Door at Home* (1934) and *American Foreign Policy in the Making, 1932-1940* (1946). Disliking the idealistic internationalism of Woodrow Wilson almost as much as the imperialistic principles of the Mahan-Theodore Roosevelt-Beveridge school, Beard looked back with nostalgia toward happier days—to the period before what he liked to call the "breach with historic continentalism."

The pressure upon him to take a more active part in public affairs was terrific, but he managed to resist. His writing ever came first; and we are the richer that he held to his purpose. Nevertheless, he responded generously whenever any of his fellow scholars called for help. The manuscripts which he read and criticized would make a considerable collection; the pages of this journal reveal his kindness to successive editors. He found time to serve the American Historical Association as president (1933), and he carried the same burden for the American Political Science Association (1926) and the National Association for Adult Education (1936). He spurred on the Social Studies Commission of the American Historical Association; and he wrote that part of the commission's report known as *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools* (1932), which a well-qualified critic has described as "the most significant document in American education since the days of Horace Mann."

Many of Charles Beard's friends felt that in the later years of his life he had come to doubt that mankind could learn much through the methods and purposes of the professional historians; yet in the July, 1947, issue of this journal he wrote: "Although we cannot *know* universal history or any large part of it, we may, apparently, learn a great deal more about history and ourselves, by taking thought, considering the limitations of our historical knowledge and increasing the precision of our methods." Nothing in Beard's writings quite reveals the radiant personality of the man. Perhaps, in the Socratic dialogues which he called *The Republic* (1943), one may see how brilliantly he could guide the course of conversation, how quickly his mind went out to those who asked questions intelligently, how generous he could be in sharing with others the erudition that he wore so lightly. At the hilltop farm near New Milford, Connecticut, he and Mary Beard always had a welcome for the wayfarer who sought knowledge and inspiration.

Frederic Logan Paxson, long a prominent figure among American historians, died in Berkeley, California, October 24, 1948, from an embolism, following a major operation. A former president of the American Historical Association (1938), and professor of history successively at four state universities, Colorado, Michigan, Wisconsin, and California, he was at the time of his death Margaret Byrne professor of United States history, emeritus, at the University of California. He had retired the year before, after a period of service at California of fifteen years, the last eight of which he had been chairman of the department.

Professor Paxson was born in Philadelphia, February 23, 1877. He was a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, from which he also received the Ph.D. degree. His master's degree he held from Harvard. Throughout his life he was a loyal member of the Society of Friends.

As a scholar, his interests ranged through all United States history. He first won recognition by his studies on the influence of the frontier West in American history. His *Last American Frontier* (1910), his numerous articles in historical journals, especially on railroads, and his *History of the American Frontier* (1924), all emphasized this theme. For the latter he received the Pulitzer Prize for the best book of the year on American history. He was also among the first to emphasize the importance of recent American history. His *New Nation*, published in 1915, and his *Recent History of the United States*, a textbook which went through numerous printings, and was repeatedly revised, did much to set the pattern of historical writing in this field. The First World War gave him still other special interests. He served first with the Committee on Public Information and with Samuel B. Harding edited the *War Cyclopaedia*, then entered the United States Army as a major in charge of the economic mobilization section of the historical branch, War Plans Division, General Staff. Later he brought out a series of three volumes on *American Democracy and the World War* (1936-48), books in which he attempted successfully to bridge the gap between the historical specialist and the general reader. Among his other books was one on *The Independence of the South American Republics* (1903), another on *The Civil War* (1911), and at the time of his death, he was well along with a book on the history of land grant colleges in the United States.

As a university professor, his teaching and writing deeply influenced the thinking of thousands of students, both undergraduate and graduate. Before his retirement in 1947 he had supervised the writing of no less than sixty-six Ph.D. theses on practically all phases of United States history. As a skilled administrator, his service was in constant demand, not only in departmental matters but also in general university affairs. As a loyal friend and a trustworthy adviser he was widely known in historical circles the nation over. His passing brings deep grief to all who knew him well.

George MacKinnon Wrong, professor emeritus of modern history at the Uni-

versity of Toronto since 1927, and an honorary member of the American Historical Association, died on June 28, 1948, at the beginning of his eighty-ninth year. His remarkable career ranged from the handicap of poverty in rural western Ontario, through arts and divinity at Toronto, to international distinction as a historian and as a teacher and abettor of historians in Canada and the United States. His first publication was in 1892, his first contribution to our Association in 1898, and his last papers (of 1939 and 1940) followed the *Essays in Canadian History*, edited by Ralph Flenley (Toronto, 1939), which were presented to him on his eightieth birthday. Chester Martin's essay in that collection and W. S. Wallace's in the *Canadian Historical Review*, XXIX (September, 1948), 229-39, record and estimate his career and writings in detail.

His chosen role, after his appointment to the chair at Toronto in 1894, was to prod Canada into realization and emulation of the new critical history in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. He laid the foundations by bringing out the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, which from 1897 to 1919 (and since 1920 as part of the *Canadian Historical Review*) annually listed or reviewed exactly every discoverable cogent item. It caused a prodigious to-do among the amateur historians, but it made it unwise to publish uncritical Canadian history. Wrong himself managed to combine extensive research, writing, editorial work, public responsibilities, and social activities in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, perhaps because he rose at 5 A.M. daily. He built up a large and distinguished group of historians at Toronto who taught on tutorial lines. His editorial assistance to the Canadian publisher Robert Glasgow in the *Chronicles of Canada* (32 vols., Toronto, 1914-16) furnished the background for Glasgow's later *Chronicles of America* (50 vols., New Haven, 1918-21), to which Wrong contributed *The Conquest of New France* (1918) and *Washington and His Comrades in Arms* (1921).

More than any other single person, he made Canadians aware of sound history, for he also wrote good, readable textbooks which were widely used in schools and high schools. Much of his influence was incorporated in the Canada which has emerged so impressively since about 1896, but several of his attractively written books will keep his name alive among historians, most notably, perhaps, *The Earl of Elgin* (London, 1905), *A Canadian Manor and Its Seigneurs* (Toronto, 1908 and 1926), *The Rise and Fall of New France* (2 vols., Toronto, 1928), and *Canada and the American Revolution* (Toronto, 1935). Not least of his achievements was the founding of the Champlain Society in 1905, for the high standard of its publications reflected his editorial hand during its first twenty years.

His personal charm, coupled with his hospitality and his unconcealed admiration of the best he found in Great Britain and the United States, won for him a great circle of loyal friends in the English-speaking world, a circle which included the lowly as well as the exalted.

The death on August 3, 1948, at the age of seventy-eight of Professor Albert Frederick Pollard will touch with a sense of personal loss historical scholarship in all English-speaking lands. His repute was high as a master and expositor of the age of the Tudors but memories of him will cluster around the things he did quite as much as around the things he wrote. He was a man of infinite industry with the vigor and drive that gave hands and feet to his ideas and brought to realization what most scholars debated with tepid interest and smothered with well-wishing. The statesmanship behind scholarly interests that knew no bounds enabled him in his own day to build his own monuments. The chief of these is the Institute of Historical Studies in the heart of London with its own facilities but close to the British Museum and the Record Office. No single thing has done more to give history its proper place not only in London but in that wider world touched by the scholars who have found rich contacts through sharing its facilities.

Professor Pollard wanted history to function in the everyday life of the nation. That meant to him reaching down below the select level of the universities. He organized the Historical Association for secondary teachers of history and, as editor of its organ, *History*, from 1916 to 1922, he brought the results of research to this group in a way that is sadly wanting in similar publications elsewhere. As a worker in the Anglo-American Historical Conference he made easy and profitable the contacts of historians in the Atlantic community. He found time amid his multifarious activities to give the Goldwin Smith lectures at Cornell in 1913 and to serve for six months on the staff of Columbia University. For all these things, added to his scholarly production, always at a high level, he well merited the honorary membership bestowed on him by the American Historical Association.

His career as scholar and teacher did not open up swiftly when he came down from Oxford in 1891 with a first class in modern history. His first published essays were prize winners and his first recognition was as assistant editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Largely hard digging, its rewards in broadening scholarship were an investment in the future. After eight years of this he was called to the chair of constitutional history in University College, London. Here his energy and industry widened the conception of historical teaching and built up a strong department and extended his influence through his students. His election to follow Firth as research fellow in All Souls when the latter became Regius professor was a fitting, if belated, national recognition. His own interests were primarily in constitutional and parliamentary history but so extended in the sixteenth century that he wrote five chapters on Germany in this period for the *Cambridge Modern History*. His output as a scholar was noteworthy. He could write clear and succinct, if not tingling, English. He could inform even if he did not inspire. These qualities as a writer he had acquired the hard way in the years with the *DNB*, a much better school in this regard than was the *Monumenta* for German

novitiates. Nothing that has been said should divert emphasis from the sturdy research behind the volumes he wrote on *Somerset*, *Henry VIII*, *Cranmer*, and *Wolsey*, all in his special field of Tudor history. In the *History of England* (Longmans) he wrote the volume covering 1547 to the death of Elizabeth. To these should be added his *Evolution of Parliament* and *Factors in Modern History*, the latter implying the program he was to follow in the University of London and in the Institute of Historical Research. He left a great mass of material on which he had planned to base a history of the Reformation Parliament.

Marshall S. Brown, dean emeritus of New York University, died September 18 at the age of seventy-seven. Dr. Brown received his bachelor's and master's degrees from Brown University and was later the recipient of honorary degrees of LL.D. and L.H.D. from Heidelberg College (Ohio) and New York University. After teaching English one year at Brown University and history one year in the University of Michigan, he joined the history staff of New York University, where he was a professor from 1899 and dean of the faculties from 1918 until his retirement in 1940. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1894.

Robert Murray Christian, associate professor of history in Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia, died on August 11, 1948, after a long and painful illness which he bore with his usual fortitude. He was born November 17, 1908, in Mobile, Alabama. After obtaining his B.A. degree at Davidson College he was an assistant in history at the University of Virginia, where he took his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, specializing in modern European history. Later he taught at the University of Alabama and, during summer sessions, at the University of Virginia and Tulane University. He came to Randolph-Macon in 1941 as adjunct professor of history and was promoted to associate professor after his return from World War II. During the war he served first as a junior lieutenant and was later promoted to senior lieutenant and then lieutenant commander. To his chosen work as a teacher Murray Christian brought a winning personality, unusual industry, and intellectual ability. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1939.

Walter P. Rogers, professor of history at the State Teachers College, Potsdam, New York, died October 9, following an operation. He was graduated from Oberlin College, where he also took his master's degree. He was awarded his doctor's degree by Cornell University in 1934. He taught for a year at the College of the Ozarks, at Ohio Northern University from 1936 to 1941, and since then at Potsdam. In 1942 the Cornell University Press published his *Andrew D. White and the Modern University*. He was also the author of several articles and a number of

reviews on the history of higher education in this and other historical journals. He joined the American Historical Association in 1935.

C. Henry Smith, professor of history, Bluffton (Ohio) College, died, October 18, at the age of seventy-three years. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1909.

Alfred Hasbrouck, professor emeritus of history in Rollins College, died September 30 at the age of sixty-eight years. Colonel Hasbrouck had served as assistant professor of history (1928-32) at Lake Forest (Illinois) College; and as director (1937-38) of the "Union Catalogue of Floridiana," as assistant professor of history (1938-41), and as associate professor (1941 until retirement) in Rollins College. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1928.

Edward Rowse, formerly on the staff of the National Archives, died in Washington on October 25, 1948. He received his bachelor's degree from Harvard and his doctorate from Washington University, St. Louis. Previous to his appointment to the National Archives he had served on the staff of the New York State Library, the Brooklyn Public Library, and in the Library School of Syracuse University. He had been a member of this Association since 1938.

Archibald Freeman died at his residence in Cortland, New York, August 16, 1948. He was master in history at Phillips Andover Academy for over forty years. He was both effective and popular as a teacher and had a wide acquaintance with the alumni of the Academy.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of Allan Nevins' *Ordeal of the Union* in the *American Historical Review* of July, 1948, Professor John D. Hicks writes: "... Nevins and his various helpers have combed an incredible variety of sources. They have used dozens of newspapers, scores of manuscript collections, and hundreds of special works. They have re-searched the *Congressional Record* and other public documents, both national and state. They have also focused on themes not always included in the works of such precursors as Rhodes, Schouler, and Von Holst, or even McMaster."

It is to be feared that such statements will build up a legend that other people do much of Professor Nevins' work, that he is a sort of Hubert Howe Bancroft who maintains a large staff of research workers and writers.

Librarians and manuscript curators throughout the East and the South can testify to Professor Nevins having personally spent long days in research on their collections while he was preparing *Ordeal of the Union*. As a colleague who has

known him intimately for sixteen years and who watched him as he worked on these two volumes, I can testify that he did all of the research and writing himself, with the exception of some typing, the checking of footnotes, and the making of the index; the index was entrusted to me. Those who have witnessed Professor Nevins work at close range marvel at his capacity for scholarly production as much as those who know him only through his numerous publications.

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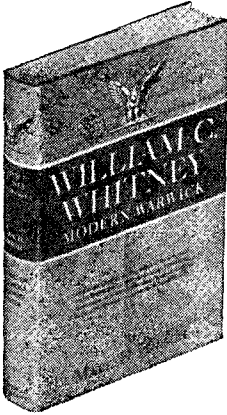
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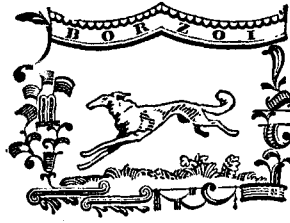
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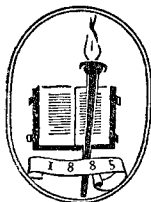
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